

# **A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF TOTO**

**A thesis submitted to Assam University, Silchar  
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics**

*By*

**CHIBIRAM BASUMATARY  
Ph.D. Registration No. Ph.D/1912/2012  
Dated.24.09.2012**



**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS  
RABINDRANATH TAGORE SCHOOL OF INDIAN LANGUAGES  
AND CULTURAL STUDIES**

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**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**  
**Rabindranath Tagore School of Indian**  
**Languages and Cultural Studies**  
**ASSAM UNIVERSITY, SILCHAR**  
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**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the thesis entitled “**A Descriptive Grammar of Toto**” submitted by Shri. Chibiram Basumatary for award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics is a bonafide research work. This work has not been submitted previously for any other degree of this or any other University. It is further certified that the candidate has complied with all the formalities as per the requirements of Assam University. I recommend that the thesis may be placed before the examiners for consideration of award of the degree of this University.

**(Dr. S. Ganesh Baskaran )**  
Supervisor  
Associate Professor  
Department of Linguistics  
Assam University, Silchar

## **DECLARATION**

I, Chibiram Basumatary bearing Registration Number Ph.D /1912/2012 dated 24.09.12, hereby declare that the subject matter of the thesis entitled “***A Descriptive Grammar of Toto***” is the record of work done by me and that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis for award of any degree to me or to anybody else to the best of my knowledge. The thesis has not been submitted in any other University/Institute.

This thesis is being submitted to Assam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

Candidate

Place: Assam University

Date:

(Chibiram Basumatary)

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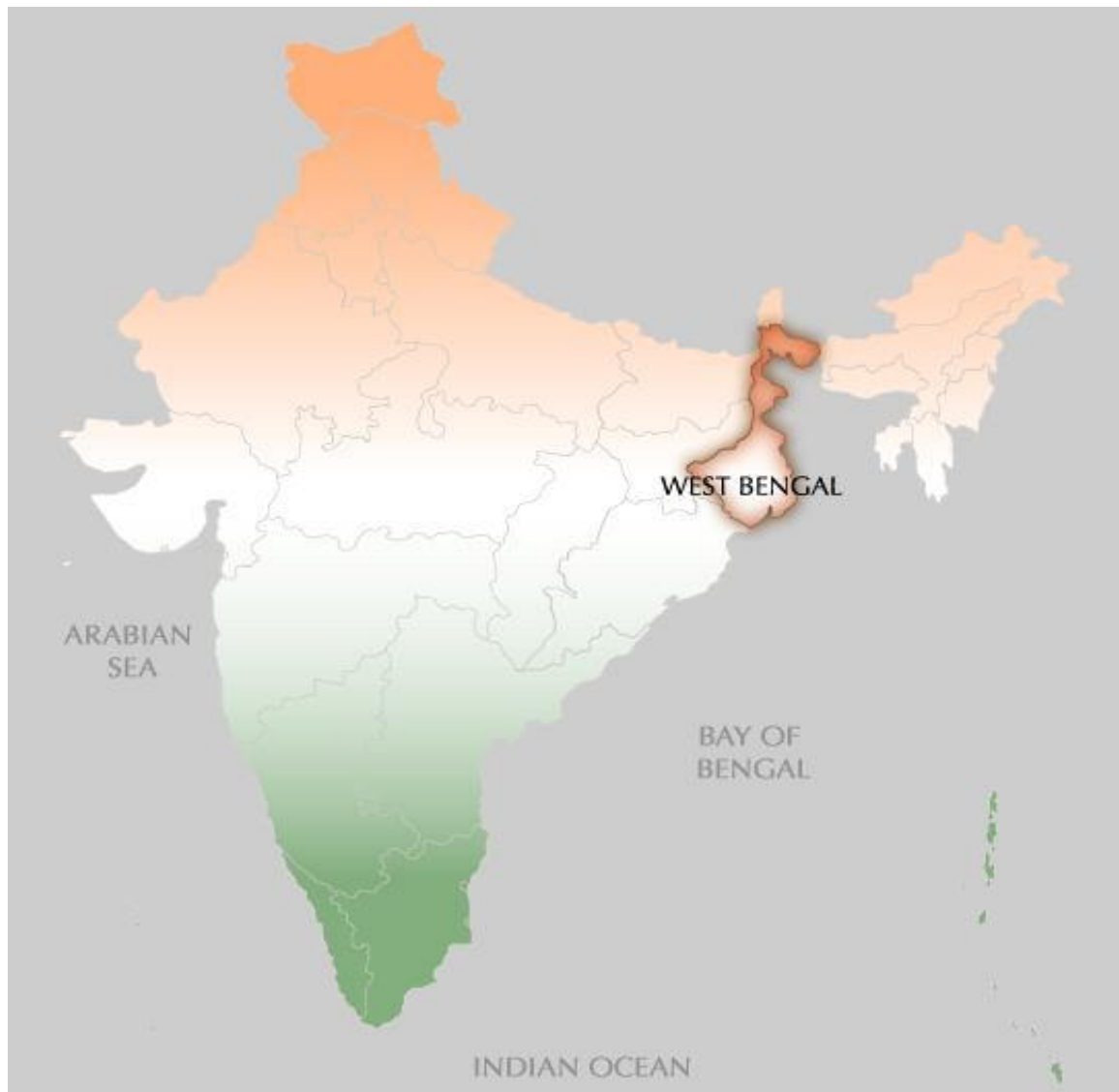
I acknowledge to all the staff members Assam University Library, Silchar, from where I got the privilege to read many books, Dissertations which helped me to carry out this research work.

I am solely responsible for any errors in the text of this research work.

Chibiram Basumatary  
Assam University, Silchar.

Place- Assam University

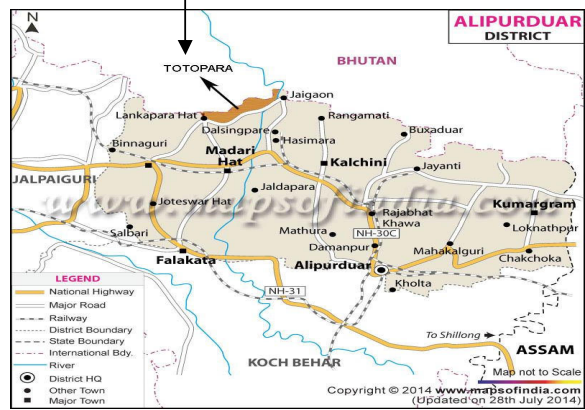
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**Map 1: An outline map of India**



Map 2: Maps of West Bengal and Alipurduar



Map of Alipurduar showing the inhabitant of Toto Tribe of Totopara

*Toto Plates*





## The main entrance of Totopara



A Field visit on 8.7.2014 in Totopara with Mr Rajen Toto



The cultivated crops called *meibe* used in preparing local wine *iu*



A village woman of Totopara winnowing the rice chaff in dala 'winnow'



*Duku*: a bamboo made basket used for carrying vegetable





*Bakuj(cikaimo+mogoimo)* a drum made of cow skin used during festival time.



*petuj* another type of basket used in filtering the local wine called *iu*.





*Paday* a kind of bamboo net used in catching fish



*nanra* a kind of 'dry fish' which are prepared after basking in the sun.



A field visit in Totopara during winter in the bank of river Torsa, which divides India and Bhutan.



A village woman preparing local wine 'iu'





Two village priests during Demsa festival where Senza ‘supreme god’ is worshipped



Traditional house of Toto people

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## **List of abbreviations and symbols**

A	answer
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADVLZ	adverbializer
AUX	auxiliary
CAP	capability
CAUS	causative
COM	committative
COMP	comparative marker
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DESID	desiderative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
lit.	literally
LOC	locative
N	noun
NEC	necessity
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NOMZ	nominalizer
NUM	numeral

O	object
OBGL	obligative
PL	plural
PST	past
PRES	present
PROB	probability
REL	relative
REFL	reflexive
S	subject
SOV	subject-object-verb
SUPER	superlative marker
Q	question
QM	question marker
V	verb
V	vowel
V <u>V</u>	diphthong
Vs	versus
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Ø	null morpheme

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## Abstract

### A Descriptive Grammar of Toto

The present research work entitled “A Descriptive Grammar of Toto” is the synchronic study of Toto, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Alipurduar District of West Bengal. Shafer (1974) stated that Toto belongs to the Jalpaiguri group of the Barish Section within the Baric Subdivision of Sino-Tibetan. The closest linguistics relatives of Toto are: Lepcha (Rong), Newar, Magar and Gurung. Their language is still oral and they have no script of their own. The status of their language is very negligible they received less attention from the government. Their language is not taught in the schools of Jalpaiguri. Toto cultural dance, songs, or any other cultural events are not telecast in the Jalpaiguri Durdarshan Kendra. The present thesis is divided into six chapters: Introduction, Review of literature, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and conclusion.

**Chapter I** provides the introduction of Toto language, such as its name, its linguistic affiliation, its population, its status etc. and finally explains the methodology used in the thesis.

**Chapter II** provides an overview of literature on Toto. There is very scanty linguistic work available in the language. Most of the works in the language are mainly on socio-cultural and historical aspects. Bimalendu Mazumder (1991) *A Sociological Study of the Toto Folk tales* describes the society and folk lore perspectives of the same tribe. However, his work did not give a detailed study of the structure of the language in the systematic way. Amitabha Sarkar (1993) *Toto: Society and Change* describes the area and the people where he depicts the village Totopara is located in Madarihat P.S. under Alipurduar sub-division of Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. It

lies within altitude 89° 20' and longitude lays 26° 50. The village is situated at the foothills of the Himalayas towards south of the border between Bhutan and West Bengal. Since the village is very close to the Himalayas, they experience a humid and cold climate.

The linguistic work on Toto is limited to few sources: Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III part I*, (1903). In the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI), Grierson offers a brief introduction of Toto people and very few grammatical sketch of Toto along with some text data. He pointed out that the tribe Toto lives in the Sub-Himalyas, in the Baxa subdivision of Jalpaiguri. They are considered to have migrated from Bhutan. They are a very wild tribe and no non-Toto knows their language. There is a said to be one Toto in existence who knows a little Bengali besides his own language. The materials forward for the purposes of this survey have been put together with his assistance. They comprise an incomplete list of standard words and phrases, a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son, to which are appeal some numerals and pronouns.

**Chapter III** deals with the phonology of Toto. There are eighteen consonants in Toto. According to their place of articulation, Toto consonants can be categorized into bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. In terms of manner of articulation, they can be further categorized into seven types: stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, lateral, trill and semi-vowels. Toto has eight stops i.e., /p, b, t, d, c, j, k, g/, three fricatives /s z and h/, three nasals /m, n, ŋ/, two liquids /l and r/ and two semi-vowel /w/ and /y/ and six vowel phonemes i.e., /i, e, ə, a, u and o/ in its phonemic inventory. No aspirated stops are noticed in the language. The voicing is also one of distinctive features in the case of consonantal phonemes in Toto. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has three nasal

sounds /m, n, and ŋ/, all of them occur in all three positions viz., initially, medially and finally. Other consonant sounds in the language which include fricative /s/, lateral /l/ and trill /r/. Like the majority of Sino-Tibetan languages, Toto is a tonal language in which a change in the pitch of the syllable corresponds to a change in its meaning.

Toto has nine diphthongs viz., /iu/, /ei/, /eu/, /əi/, /ai/, /au/, /oi/, /ou/. and /ui/. Phonetically they are realized as [iʊ] [eɪ], [eʊ], [əɪ], [oɪ], [aɪ], [aʊ], [oʊ]. and [ʊɪ]. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages of North Eastern India, diphthongs in the language occur only in the open syllable rather than closed one. Diphthong /ui/ occurs in all positions, /iu/ and /eu/ occur initial and medial positions, /ai/, /oi/, /əi/, and /ei/ occur medial and final positions while /ou/ and /au/ occur only in the medial positions of word.

The vowel sequences in the Toto language: /oa/ and /ua/ The vowel sequences in the language occur both medial and final positions of word. The first members in the sequences are high and mid back vowels whereas the second members of the sequences are always central low unrounded /a/ vowel. It should be mentioned here the sequences /oa/ is most common ones i.e., they occur frequently in the language. Toto has two contrastive lexical tones: high and low. Unlike consonant clusters, the consonant sequences in Toto are very rich; however, they occur only in the medial position of words. So the first members of the sequences are always stops nasals and trill while stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, lateral, trill and semi-vowels occupy the second members of the same. Hence the second members are more in the CC sequences in Toto than the first one in terms of its numerical strength.

.In Toto, syllables structure can be classified into four major types: (i) mono-syllabic (ii) disyllabic and (iii) trisyllabic and (iv) tetrasyllabic word.

**Chapter IV** deals with the morphology of Toto. It discusses roots and affixes, noun, number, gender, pronouns, numerals, case and postpositions, adjectives, verbs, tense/aspect, mood and adverbs. Roots in Toto can be either nominal or verbal. As many other agglutinating language in the world, affixation in Toto plays a significant role to form new words. Affixation in Toto can be classified into two types namely: (i) prefixation and (ii) suffixation. However, infixation is totally absent in the language. However, coining of new words with of prefixation is not noticed so far in the language.

A noun in Toto may be defined as a class of words that can be postposed for the categories of gender, number and case while the pronouns can be postposed only for case. Pronouns in Toto can take number and case markers but do not show gender distinction. Pronouns can be classified into personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive and indefinite pronouns. Personal pronouns differentiate three persons and two numbers i.e., first, second and third person with singular and plural number. Toto has no grammatical gender, it has only natural gender, i.e., all the male comes under the masculine and all the female comes under the feminine. From the semanto-morphological point of view, the noun may be divided into human and non-human classes. The human nouns in Toto are morphologically marked for male and female. There are different markers for indicating male in case of non-human nouns. However, the female marker remains same irrespective of the distinct categories of animals. All the inanimate nouns are considered as neuter. Toto contrast two-way distinctions in number viz. singular and plural. The singular forms of nouns are not marked by any marker i.e., singular nouns remain unmarked. Plural in Toto is usually formed at the morphological level by suffixation of plural marker *-bi~ -biya* to the generic form of nouns.



Numerals in Toto are of decimal type. Vigesimal system is also found in the numeral system of the language. Majority of the numeral roots in the language are mono-morphemic. Bi-morphemic numerals in the language are numeral root plus prefixes for instance, *nico* ‘two’ *tu-co* ‘six’ etc. Compounding is the productive morphological process to form the higher numerals. They are classified into cardinals, ordinals, multiplicative, fractional, and distributive numerals. Toto has seven cases in viz., (i) nominative, (ii) accusative, (iii) dative, (iv) genitive, (v) ablative, (vi) instrumental, and (vii) locative.. The case in Toto is expressed by means of suffixation. Toto does not have distinct category of adjective. In other words, the class of word what we call adjectives in Toto are not morphosyntactically an independent grammatical element as we find in most of the Indo-European languages of the world. Instead, they are derived from the verbs particularly the stative verbs as many Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia do. Furthermore, adjectives in Toto are indistinguishable from nouns or verbs, i.e., adjectives frequently share the morphosyntactic features of either nouns or verbs. It is interesting to note that the derivation of adjectives from verbs through suffixation is one of the characteristic features of Toto language. Comparative and superlative are morphologically formed by adding suffixes *-koi* and *-koina* to the positive form respectively. Verbs in Toto are inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and other verbal affixes as well. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, auxiliaries in Toto follow the main verb. Morphosyntactically, Toto tense can be categorized into: (i) present (ii) past and (iii) future tense. The present tense is marked by a suffix *-mi*, the past is marked by a suffix *-na* and future tense in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-ro*, which is attached to the verb root. There are three aspectual distinctions in Toto language, viz., (i) perfective (ii) progressive and (iii) habitual. In Toto, the all the aspectual markers are

post-verbal suffixes. Structurally, adverbs in Toto can be categorized into two different types: simple and derived adverbs. Semantically, adverbs are classified into (i) adverb of time, (ii) adverb of place, (iii) adverb of manner and (iv) adverb degree. The adverbs always precede the verbs they modify. Derived adverbs in Toto are derived from nouns or verbs by adding adverbial marker *-pa* to the same. Therefore, the derivation of adverbs from noun or verbs is one of the typological features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Toto. The mood in Toto can be analyzed in terms of the imperative, permissive, capability, obligatory, probability, conditional, necessity, intensive and optative. The common morphological processes, which are used to form new words in Toto. They are mainly affixation, derivation, compounding reduplication and borrowing of which compounding is the most productive one in the language like many other Southeast Asian languages. It is worth mentioning here that the nominal compounds in Toto are a large proportion of the compound words.

**Chapter V** deals with the syntax. It provides an overview of basic noun and verb phrase structure in the language. A phrase that functions as the subject or object of a verb can be termed as noun phrase in which nouns most commonly act as a headword. A noun phrase in Toto may consist minimally of the noun (or noun substitute, such as a pronoun) and the other words or affixes can be added. A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and one or more modifiers. Modifiers may be a nominal, an adjectival, a demonstrative, or a numeral. The coordinators express the coordination in Toto, which may be either conjunctive or disjunctive. Verb phrase in Toto must consist of a verb and some other optional elements (NPs or Adverbs) which generally precede the verb. Like many other languages in the world, Toto verb phrase must have a verb, whereas NPs or adverbs are optionally present in the phrase. In other words, the core of

a verb phrase is a verbal nucleus consisting of one or more verbs i.e., either lexical or be verbs. The clause and sentence structures of Toto provides an overview of different types of clauses, nominalization, reflexivization, causativization, relativization, interrogatives, negation and finally types of sentences in Toto. The clause types of Toto are: declarative clause, purposive clause, desiderative clause, relative clauses, infinitival clause etc. Declarative clause in Toto is unmarked. Semantically, it express statement, assertion etc. Declarative clause can be divided into verbal and non-verbal clause.

Toto has no relative pronoun. However, the nominalizer *-wa* is used to forms relative clause in the language. In Toto, the negator *-ma* is employed to negate both the declarative and interrogative clauses; and the non-declarative clays is negated by the prefix *moko-* in the language, nevertheless negative particle *uhu* is used only in the formation of negative interjections

Toto makes use of nominalizing suffix *-wa* for the derivation of nouns from action/process/stative verbs. Relativization in Toto is made by suffixing the nominalizer *-wa* to the verb of the nominalized clause.

Causative or casual verb in Toto is morphologically marked. The suffix *-pa* is the causative morpheme in Toto, which is postposed to the verb.

Sentences in Toto may be classified into three types, viz., (i) simple (ii) complex and (iii) compound

**Chapter VI** deals with the findings and summary.

There are three appendices in the thesis. The first appendix contains one texts of Toto language, second appendix deals with the some common riddles of Toto and the third appendix contains Toto vocabulary.

## Chapter- 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1. Language and people

The Toto is a one of the minor tribes of West Bengal having its distinct language, custom and ethnic identity. Toto is the name of the language and the community that speak the language. The term *Toto* itself is derived from the Tibetan word *ṭḍbo* means ‘dweller of high altitude mountains’ and later *ṭḍbo* > *toto*. Ethnically Totos are Mongloids and their language belongs to Tibeto-Burman family of languages. Their language is still oral and they have no script of their own. The status of their language is very negligible they received less attention from the government. Their language is not taught in the schools of Jalpaiguri. Toto cultural dance, songs, or any other cultural events are not telecast in the Jalpaiguri Durdarshan Kendra. In such situation, one anonymous Toto poet says in his songs.

Ka iuba yeko ḍdo ka jeṇ mi, ka iuwa ka jejeṇ mi

Ye nanaiso kuṇ ḍta ḍabi ye pamsa lemi.....

“Our language Toto is our heart, it is very much pleasant to the ear.

It is the language that our ancestors brought.....”

## **1.2. Geographical and demographic distribution**

The speakers of Toto are found mainly in the small tiny Himalayays hamlet located in Madarihat police station under Alipurduar sub-division of Jalpaiguri District of West Bengal. The village is situated at the foothills of the Bhutan-Himalayas along the Indo-Bhutan border in Indian territory. The Toto tribe of Bengal reside in this village. They have been designed as six underdeveloped tribes of West Bengal (Majumdar 1991). The Totopara is sub-divided in to six small villages namely (i) Mondalgaon (ii) Dumsigaon (iii) Pujagaon (iv) Subagaon (v). Ponchayetgaon and (vi). Mitrangaon. However, the division of villages shows no dialectal variation of Toto. All the villages are situated very near to each other and they are mutually intelligible. As per the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, the following were listed as scheduled tribes in West Bengal: 1. Asur, 2. Baiga, 3. Badia, Bediya, 4. Bhumji, 5. Bhutia, Sherpa, **Toto**, Dukpa, Kogatay, Tibetan, Yolmo, 6. Birhor, 7. Birjia, 8. Chakma, 9. Chero, 10. Chik Baraik, 11. Garo, 12. Gond, 13. Gorait, 14. Hajang, 15. Ho, 16. Karmali, 17. Kharwar, 18. Khond, 19. Kisan, 20. Kora, 21. Korwa, 22. Lepcha, 23. Lodha, Kheria, Kharia, 24. Lohara, Lohra, 25. Magh, 26. Mahali, 27. Mahli, 28. Mal Pahariya, 29. Mech, 30. Mru, 31. Munda, 32. Nagesia, 33. Oraon, 34. Parhaiya, 35. Rabha, 36. Santal, 37. Sauria Paharia, 38. Savar, 39. Limbu (Subba) and 40. Tamang.

According to Sub-divisional Tribal Welfare Office 2011, the total population of Toto speakers in the State of West Bengal was 1389. Table 1 given below shows the growth of population from 1951-2011.

Year	No.of Houses	Male	Female	Total
1951	69	162	160	321
1961	85	423	193	616
1971	96	332	318	650
1981	135	357	349	706
1991	141	471	457	928
2001	238	610	565	1175
2011	306	739	650	1389

Table 1: growth of Toto population from 1951-2011

### 1.3. Linguistic affiliation

According to G.A Grierson (1901), Linguistics Survey of India, Volume-III, Part-I, Toto language belong to a Himalayan Subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman Language family.

Robert Shafer (1974) has made totally different classification of Sino-Tibetan languages than from other authors. He divides Tibeto-Burman into four main groups: Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic. According to Shafer, Toto belongs to the Jalpaiguri group of the Barish Section within the Baric Subdivision of Sino-Tibetan. The closest linguistics relatives of Toto are Lepcha (Rong), Newar, Magar and Gurung.

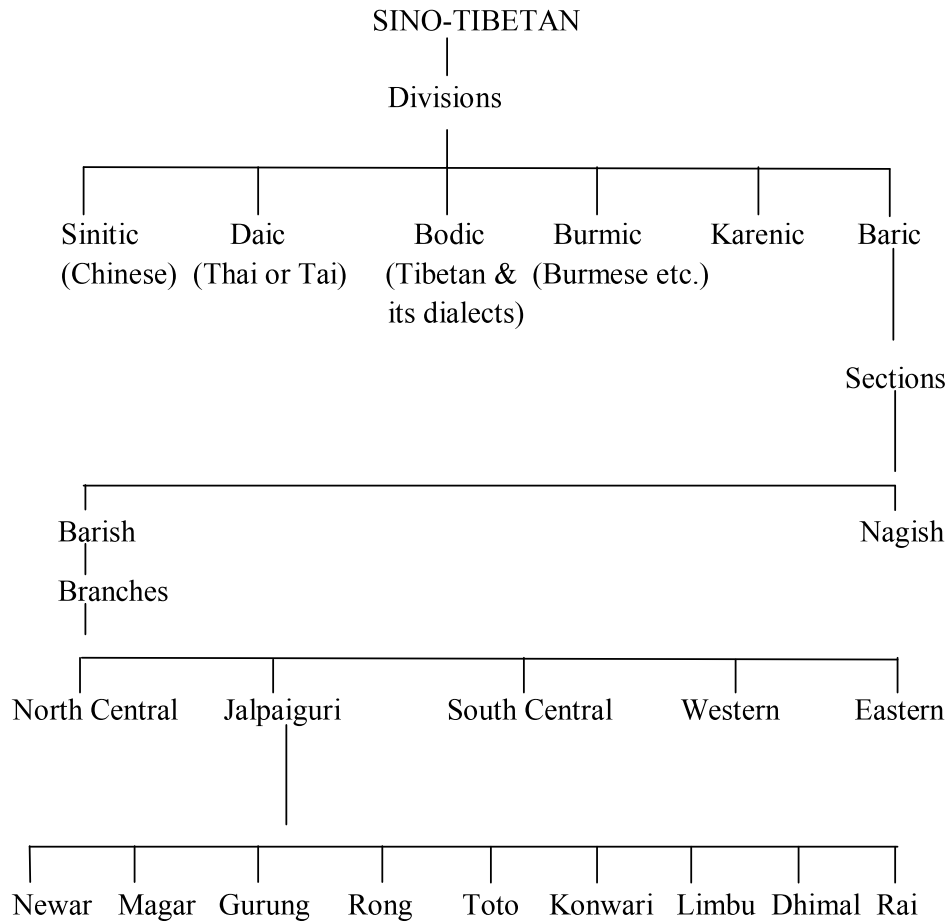


Figure 1 Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family (Robert Shafer, 1966-1974)

Dr I.J.S. Taraporewala (1978) has shown in a tree diagram of Tibeto-Burman language family in which the Toto language was placed under the group of Non- pronominalised Tibeto-Himalayan dialect and its first predecessor is Lepcha of Sikim. Further, Bishnu (2012) has mentioned that Toto language is one of them or a mixture of them. Not only in tongue, the Totos resembles in their dress and behavior with the Lokhe or Bhutanese. But it can be confidently said that the Toto speech retained some distinguishable characteristics of the Himalayan or Tibetan group of dialects. According to

the above discussion the origin of the Toto language may be shown in the following diagram.

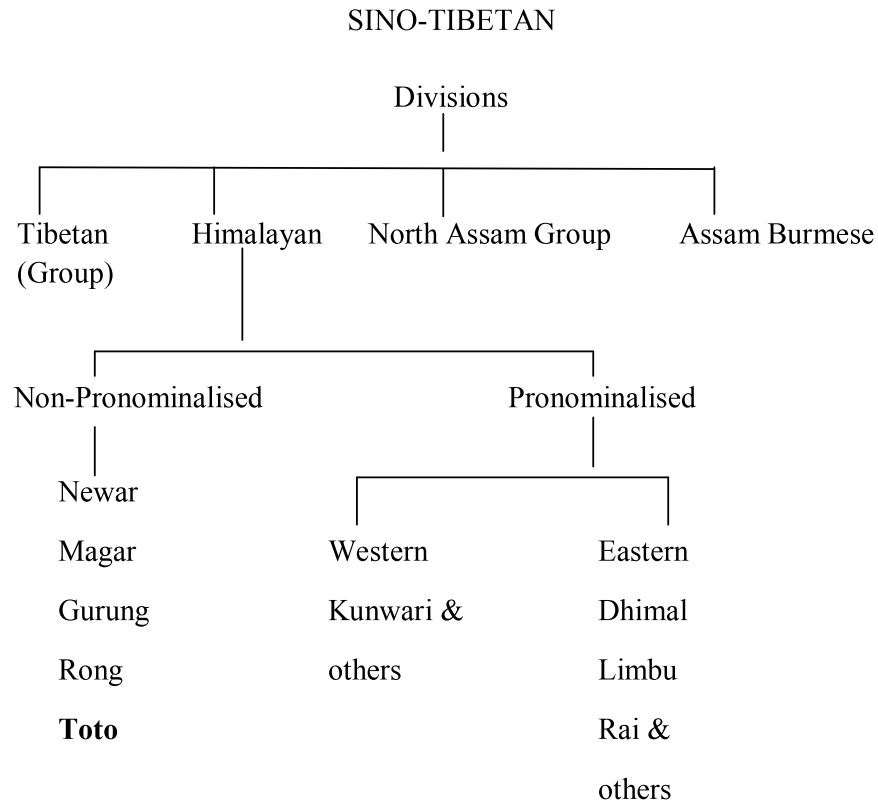


Fig-2 Taraporewale's classification of Non- pronominalised Tibeto Himalayan dialects

#### 1.4. Origin and Migration

The Toto folktales tell us that the Supreme Lord has created human beings into this world. The Supreme God made a safe shelter for human beings and kept them inside the cave. Mazumdar (1991) has mentioned that Toto people are not aware of their migration in Totopara. The oldest persons did not know how many days back it happened. The Totos used to reside at Bhutan hills at that time. It was very hard days for the Totos. They were captured by the Bhutanese army and were taken as slave for a long time. But some of them could escape and stayed scattered elsewhere without any trace.



Before that incident the Totos were a big nation too. There after the young Totos were recruited as porters for the king's army. It was a more troubled period for the Totos. A big war broke out between the Bhutia king and the king of the western country. The army of the Bhutan king started moving towards the west. The Totos had to follow them carry big loads on their bag. They passed through the dense forests and lofty hills. They crossed the turbulent rivers. Yet that tedious journey was an unending one. In this way after walking for seven days, the convoy reached the west bank of 'Ama-chu' (river Torsha) and camp there for the night. After taking their milk the army personal went to the bed and due to the days hard toil they were dog tired and fell asleep within a short time. The night was pitch dark. The Totos also lay down but they did not sleep. At a certain time they get ready with the signal of their headman silently. Their gang was taking rest by the side of the hill slope. They stealthly slipped away through the slope with their load on their back towards the foot of the hill. Within a short time they reached the sand bed of river Torsha. They were 'I-kai' (one score) in number. They walk through out the night. In the early morning before the sunrise they took shelter in the dense forest of Tading hill. From the hiding place they found out the present village of Totopara. The researcher tried to know since when they are living in Totopara they replied since seven generations.

### **1.5. Script and Literature**

It is well known fact that the tribal people of North-East India do not have their own script. Likewise, Toto do not have their own script to write their language. They used Bengla script to write their language with some modifications. It is also observed that younger generations are used to learn Bengla script as it is taught in schools under the government of West Bengal. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has tonal distinctions. However the tonal distinction is not reflected in their present writing system.

Moreover, no any attempt has also been made to devise a phonemic based writing system where tone can be marked orthographically. Consequently, the preparation of Toto writing system according to the phonological structure of the language is necessary for semantic interpretation of the language at large.

As many other tribal people of West Bengal, there is no healthy written literature in Toto, but they have a rich oral literature which has not been recorded or documented in proper way. It is interesting to note that most of the younger generations of Toto are not well aware of their heritage oral literature in the form of folk songs, folk tales, oral narratives etc., as it plays a crucial role to enhance their literature in great extend. Moreover, Toto oral literature compose of the beautiful depiction of Toto society in which it flourished such as the ways of life, customs, institutions, joys, sorrows etc. which are inherited from their forefathers. Interestingly, this beautiful unwritten, unexplored literature has been orally transmitted from generation to generation, but in recent times some scholars have brought out some of the essence of Toto oral literature in their publications.

#### **1.6. Social and Economic life**

The society of Toto community is patriarchal. The man is the head of the family and he has the most power of making decisions concerning family matters. However, women are also respected in the society. The elder members of the society and married couples are higher on the social hierarchy than unmarried boys and girls. A burst of joy spread over the village when a baby is born among the Totos. But no religious functions are observed. After the birth of the new born baby some drops of local wine is sprinkled on its mouth. During the naming ceremony a grass made rope is fasten in the hand of baby so that baby will be protected from the evil eyes. The Toto dwelling houses are called Nako Sha. They make their houses

which are made up of wood, bamboo, clay, elephant grass, hay, etc. There are two kinds of village councils viz: (i) Religious Council and (ii) Secular Administration council. The head of the religious council is called Kaji and the secular head is Mandal. It is to be noted that both the post are hereditary. But if there is provision if anyone is eligible he can be elected to these posts. Kaji works on the religious matter. He performs his duty with the help of village elders where as Mondal works on land dispute, theft, social crime etc. The Totos are non-vegetarians. They take meat and fish in addition to vegetables and pulses. Their staple food is rice. Rice beer is indispensable on all ceremonies and drinking of rice beer called 'IU' in Toto rice beer is not prohibited. Smoking of cigarettes and Bidis are very popular. They also smoke hukkah generally by the men and women-folks, Tea is a popular drink among them. By occupation, Totos are agriculturist and their traditional occupation is cultivation. But when they have migrated in the Totopara, they gave up their jhuming cultivation but at present they are doing shifting cultivation. Their traditional subsidiary occupations are piggery and cattle rearing. At present some of them are also employed in Government jobs in Jalpaiguri town. Toto women are expert in weaving.

### **1.7. Religion and Festival**

They have faith that birth and death of an individual is related to sun. They believe that an individual take birth from where the sun rises. They worship nature as well as many deities of Hindu. In their religion they worship rivers, sky, forest, hills etc. The chief deity among Tato is *Ispha*. To the outsiders the chief deity is known as *Mahakal*. The preist *Kaji* performs all sort of religious activities. It is found that *Mahakal* or *Ispha* is represented by two drums. One drum is represented as female and another is male. The female drum is placed in the east while male is in the west. If any non-Toto or beats

it then he/she has to go through *Sangailami* (a fine). They perform the puja of goddess Mahakali. Apart from the *Ispha*, they also observe two important rituals like *Ongchu* in the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the darker half of the month of the sarban (July-August). This festival is celebrated in a very joyous way and all the Toto family participate and contribute for the celebration and well being of the Toto family. Another ritual is known as *Mayu* (worship of orange) which is done in the month of August-September. It is held after the end of *Ongchu* festival where *iu* 'local wine' rice and flesh is served. This is a deity of orange.

### **1.8 Education**

The Toto people understand the privilege of education in modern era particularly the mother tongue education. Due to non-availability of schooling in their mother tongue, Toto people used to educate their children in Bengali medium schools irrespective of their economic condition. However, very few children had their schooling in English medium. It is important to note that Toto language has not been introduced as a medium of instruction or as a subject in the schools or institutions. Furthermore, it can also be mentioned that Toto people are well aware of education. Consequently, some of the Totos are government employees and sustained their life different from their early age.

### **1.9. Multilingualism**

Toto people can speak Nepali and Hindi other than their mother tongue. Interestingly most of the educated people can also speak little bit of English one of the national co-official language of India. It is also important to note that the West Bengal is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state and Bengali is the dominant language in their place. Therefore, almost all the Toto tribes use Bengali in their inter-ethnic communication. It is also to be

mentioned here that they speak Bengali, to some extent Nepali and Hindi as a link language with the Non-Totos but they learn Bengali in the school domain only. So their language is highly influenced by the Bengali language. It is also worth mentioning here that multilingualism is on the upsurge in Toto community due to influence of the dominant languages. It is true that linguistic minorities, in particular, have developed a stable multilingualism as a normal way of life as it is happened in the case of Toto.

#### **1.10. Language maintenance**

In the words of Fasold (1984), “Language maintenance is a sociolinguistic factor when a speech community collectively decides to continue to use the language that they traditionally used”. Language maintenance is not only crucial but also a challenging task for each and every community for its distinct linguistic and ethnic identity. However, for a minority community like Toto, home seems to be the main source for language maintenance. Undoubtedly, all Toto reported that they speak Toto at home and encouraged their children to use the language in their home domain. It may be the reason that they have positive attitude towards their language and used as a tools for identifying themselves as a distinct ethnic community. However, Toto use Bengali outside the home domains with non-Toto friends, and professional like doctor, nurse, pharmacists, bus driver, conductor, etc.

Language attitude is another factor which can also play a decisive role in language maintenance. It is true that if a community has positive attitude towards their mother tongue, this will lead to language maintenance. This is true in case of Toto spoken in Totopara. It is also important to note that the inter-caste marriage is not permitted in their society only to maintain their language.

### **1.11 Toto an Endangered Language**

Toto is a minor or endangered language of North Eastern India. If we see the position of Toto in this 21<sup>st</sup> century or if we specify more in the subject just crossing 67 years of Indian independence.

(i) Like many other tribal people, Toto do not have their indigenous script and no attempt has made to devise the orthography of this language by governmental or non-governmental agencies.

(ii) There is no written literature; their literature remains oral till date.

(iii) No dictionary, no proper grammar, word book, primer in the language which can be used in the formal education system.

(iv) Lack of formal education in the language, children of this language had their schooling in English.

(v) There is no printed media in the language.

(vi) There is no radio or television programme in the language.

(vii) The younger generation of Toto people disuse lexical items related to indigenous flora-fauna including medicinal plants, festivals, games, food habits, counting systems, name of the season, name of the week, craftsmanship, fishing, hunting, etc.

(vii) Discontinuance of their old age traditional/cultural practices in the form of folk songs, folk dances, proverbs, folk medication, fishing, hunting, craftsmanship, games and political system.

(viii) Very small size of speakers.

(ix) Inter-community marriage.

(x) Liberal use of loan words in their day to day life.

(xi) Toto is highly influenced by the dominant language Bengali.

### **1.12 Methodology**

The fieldwork of the present work has been carried out in different parts of the Totopara of Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal where the native speakers of the language are being concentrated. The *Lingua Descriptive Studies: Questionnaire* (Comrie & Smith, 1977) has been used for collecting data; however the mode of collecting data for the present work was not always that of the *Questionnaire*. A comprehensive list of words, phrases, and sentences of my own have also been made in English/Bengali and Toto equivalents have been elicited from the native speakers. The data for the present study is based on the primary source. However, secondary materials like books, journals and articles etc. are also used. The primary method of data collection was direct elicitation and group discussion. The speech data were collected and recorded from the native speakers of Toto from both the sex groups i.e., male and female for closer study.

The present work provides the structural description of Toto language spoken in Totopara of Jalpaiguri District of West Bengal in the light of descriptive framework.

## Chapter-2

### Review of Literature

The language of the Toto tribe is still in infant stage in terms of its available written literature. No scientific or systematic study has been done on Toto language by any linguist or scholar. It should be mentioned here that Bimalendu Mazumder (1991) *A Sociological Study of the Toto Folk tales* the work describes the society and folk lore perspectives of the same tribe. However, his work did not give a detailed study of the structure of the language in the systematic way. Bimalendu Mazumder (1991), in his book made an interesting account of the culture and custom of the Toto.

According to Bimalendu Mazumder (1991), the Toto tribe is one of the indigenous as well as least populous tribes of West Bengal. They are one of the 6th recognized schedule tribes in West Bengal.

He also described some of the cultural aspects of Toto that the Totos are patrilineal. The marriage is strictly exogamous and proposal for marriage comes from boy's side after the boy chooses his life partner. Marriage within the clan is not permitted. The Toto are a very industrious tribe. Toto women are experts in weaving. They have a great heritage of traditional skills in weaving. Toto women traditionally wear the dresses made by them.

The traditional religion of the Toto is polytheism, where they worship a supreme god called *Ispha*. It is the creator of the whole universe including the human race. Besides *Ispha*, there is a village deity called *Mahakali* who is a kind and benevolent deity. Now-a-days, some of the Toto people have converted into Christianity. However, a large section of Toto people still



follows the traditional religion. He further describes the elements of folk literature like songs, incantation and spells, folktales and trend of Toto folk language, and folk tales, myths, legends, fables etc of the Totos.

Amitabha Sarkar (1993) *Toto: Society and Change* describes the area and the people where he depicts the village Totopara is located in Madarihat Police Station under Alipurduar sub-division of Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. It lies within altitude 89<sup>0</sup> 20' and longitude lays 26<sup>0</sup> 50' . The village is situated at the foothills of the Himalayas towards south of the border between Bhutan and West Bengal. Since the village is very close to the Himalayas, they experience a humid and cold climate. They have their own dialect. According to Grierson and Hodgson their dialect is classified under Tibeto-Burman family of sub-Himalaya group. The language of the Toto is a non-pronominalized. Their language is also influenced by the neighboring Bengali Language. Due to contact with outside world (i.e., through communication, market, mass media) they can speak Nepali, Hindi and a little bit English in a broken form. The author further describes that the socio-cultural life is highly influenced by the Bengali life and culture. Infact, this Bengali highly influenced the Toto in adopting paddy cultivation. The Toto girls are now wearing dresses/ sarees in Bengali style. Many vocabularies of Bengali language have influenced into Toto dialect. He further mentioned that marriage take place after attainment of some specific age. The first and foremost criteria of a material alliance is clan exogamy, they are agriculturist and they are nature worshipper. Lastly he mentioned that the changed situation may be ascertained through diachronic approach, through textual data and genealogical information instead of synchronic approach because Totos are found only in one locale i.e., in Totopara. The clan segmented society-Toto, now-a-days is fast changing to cope with the modernization.

There is another edited book by Debabrata Chaki (2012) 'Duwarser Bone Badare' here four Toto authors have written on Toto language in Bengali. The first author Dhoniram Toto has described about the introduction of Toto people, the creation of human beings, beneath the earth, the story of dog and pig, the stories of wild hen, rabbit and tiger, on ghost, some poems name: (i) Eda (ii) Naoa (iii) Gigi and (iv) saiyongkung. The second author name Bhakta Toto, has written on Toto language and Toto's known and unknown history. The third author name Satyajit Toto has pointed out on folk lore about Toto people and some modern songs on Toto language. The last poet Lakhankanta Toto has described on different versions of Toto, and many songs related to Toto culture.

The linguistic work on Toto is limited to few sources: Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III part I*, (1903). In the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI), Grierson offers a brief introduction of Toto people and a scanty grammatical sketch of Toto along with some text data. He pointed out that the tribe Toto lives in the Sub-Himalyas, in the Baxa subdivision of Jalpaiguri. They are considered to have migrated from Bhutan. They are a very wild tribe and no non-Toto knows their language. There is a said to be one Toto in existence who knows a little Bengali besides his own language. The materials forward for the purposes of this survey have been put together with his assistance. They comprise an incomplete list of standard words and phrases, a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son, to which are appeal some numerals and pronouns. The parable was not accompanied by an interlinear translation and being much abbreviated in difficult to interpret. He has added a tentative translation of most of it. He does not, however he feels certain that it is correct.

During the preliminary operation of this survey the number of speakers in Jalpaiguri was estimated at 200. The corresponding figures at the last census of 1901 were as follows-

Jalpaiguri . . . . . 170

The materials available are far from being sufficient for giving even the most superficial sketch of Toto grammar. He must content himself to make some scattered remarks on such points as seem tolerably certain.

Nouns, Adjectives and Numerals- The genitive is formed by adding the suffix *k*; thus, *dodong-be-k* of a man. The *ng* preceding the *b* of this word is probably pronounced as an *m*, for we find *dumdum-bi*, man. The latter form shows that *o* and *u*, *e* and *i*, respectively, are interchangeable.

Adjectives can one of the suffixes *na* and *ma*; thus *eta-na*, good; *chisai-ma*, younger; *disui-ma* elder. Other certain instances do not occur.

The numerals are most closely correspond to those in use of Lhoke. Higher numbers are, however, counted in twenties; thus, *nga kai*; five scores, hundred; *ni-kwai-ta se*, two-scores-ten, fifty.

Pronouns- The following forms of the personal pronouns occur in the specimens:

<i>ku-te</i> , I.	<i>naga</i> thou	<i>dea, ko</i> he
<i>ka-tek, na-tak, nat-ko</i> , my	<i>natak, ne-tak, i</i> , thy.	<i>dea</i> , his
<i>kai-piu</i> , me.	<i>modang</i> , you	<i>dea ha-ji nina</i> they.
<i>deninimi, denimam, na-te</i> , we	<i>modang-bi-ko, mo-be</i> your	
<i>nat-ko, kungu</i> , our		
<i>nimusa</i> , us.		

Interrogative pronouns are *ha*, who? *ha-rang-ga*, why?

Verbs- the base *ni* is used to form a verb substantive; thus, *dodang-be-k chai ni-sa ni-na*, man-of sons two-persons were, a man had two sons.

The present tense can be formed by adding the suffix *ro*; thus, *iung-ro*, thou livest.

Several suffixes are used to form a past tense. The base alone apparently occurs in *lui*, he run. A suffix *pur* is added in *hay-pur*, he went. The suffix *ro* is used in *chase-ro* he lived. It is perhaps connected with *lo* in *luang-lo*, he wasted. A suffix *cha* seems to occur in *pu-chha*, said; *pi-chha*, gave. A more common suffix is *na*; thus, *ting-na*, he saw; *pui-na*, he said; *iya-pu-na*, they made marry.

The suffix *mia* seems to occur in forms such as *pi-mia*, gave; *ho-mia*, he went etc.

The suffix *pur* is also used to form a future; thus, *lo-pur*, I will arise; *ha-pur*, I will go. At the end of the original manuscript of the Parable he finds the forms *ha-pura*, I shall go; *cha-pura*, I shall eat; *ambalilo*, I shall look.

The forms *cha-na*, let us eat; *iya-na* let us make marry, are futures or imperatives.

A verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *e*; thus, *ku-e*, in order to tend; *pu-e*, to say.

A conjunctive participle is formed by adding *pu-na*; thus, *lui-pu-na*, having wasted; *hui-pu-na*, having gone; *cha-pu-na*, having eaten.

Lastly he mentioned that the negative particle is a prefixed *ma*; thus, *ma-ha-ro*, I will not go. *ma-cha-ro*, I will not eat; *ma-pu-e*, not to say; *ma-jang*, I am not.

Sudhirkumar Bishnu (2012) has written a grammar book in Toto entitled *A Descriptive Study of Toto Language* which is a brief description of Toto language with a little emphasis on its phonology, morphology and syntax. The grammar consists of introduction, phonology, morphology, syntax and basic vocabularies. He explained in the introduction about the land and ethnic identity, the village, marriage, religious life, scope of the book etc. In phonology he explained the vowel and consonant phonemes of Toto. He also discussed about the morphological construction like nouns, pronouns, gender, number, cases, verbs, adjectives, adverbs etc. in syntax, he discussed types of sentence of Toto. But his work lacks the proper linguistic descriptions of Toto language. None of the above mentioned works make any attempt to study the descriptive analysis of Toto systematically. Hence, the proposed study attempts to describe the grammatical structure of Toto language spoken in Totopara of Alipurduwar district of West Bengal which includes phonological analysis, grammatical categories, grammatical functions, morphological processes, phrase structures, sentences structure and constituent order.

## Chapter-3

### 3.1. Phonology

Toto language has a total of twenty six (26) phonemes in its phonemic inventory which includes six vowels (6), eighteen (18) consonants and two (2) tones.

#### 3.1.1. Vowels

Toto has six vocalic phonemes consisting of five peripheral vowels /i, e, a, o, and u/ and one interior vowel /ə/. The vowels of Toto show three way contrast of high, mid and low in terms of the levels of tongue height and front, central and back in terms of the part of the tongue raise. Like many other Tibeto-burman languages, voicing is not the relevant feature in the case of Toto vowels i.e., Toto doesn't have voiceless vowels. Lip rounding is also not a relevant feature, rather it is a redundant feature with all back vowels, i.e., the back vowels are rounded, the front and the central vowels are unrounded in the language. All the vowels in the language are oral i.e., no nasalized vowels are found so far. The vowel phonemes of Toto are illustrated in the following table:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Table 2: Vowel phonemes in Toto

### 3.1.2. Minimal Pairs

The six vowel phonemes are shown on the basis of following minimal pairs.

/i/ vs. /u/

/iso/	‘one’
/uso/	‘that side’

/ziya/	‘bird’
/zuya/	‘rat’

/gari/	‘cart’
/garu/	‘pot’

/i/ vs. /e/

/iŋ/	‘brother in-law’
/eŋ/	‘ginger’

/ita/	‘here’
/eta/	‘goat’

/ciŋ/	‘tree’
/ceŋ/	‘child’

/ə/ vs. /a/

/nəya/	‘bear’
/naya/	‘fish’

	/wəti/	‘rain’
	/wati/	‘slide’
	/sə/	‘home’
	/sa/	‘house’
/u/vs./o/		
	/uti/	‘blood’
	/oti/	‘vessel’
	/luŋwa/	‘brother’s wife’
	/loŋwa/	‘fold’
	/lu/	‘put on’ (shoes)
	/lo/	‘wake up’
/e/vs./a/		
	/eta/	‘goat’
	/ata/	‘flour’
	/lepa/	‘brain’
	/lapa/	‘jungle betel leaf’
	/kewa/	‘birth’
	/kawa/	‘sound’
/e/vs./ə/		
	/kera/	‘sting’
	/kəra/	‘finger’



	/ceŋwa/	‘child’
	/cəŋwa/	‘cucumber’
/e/vs./o/		
	/ye/	‘grass’
	/yo/	‘breast’
	/jeŋwa/	‘antelope’
	/joŋwa/	‘appear’
/a/vs./o/		
	/lai/	‘come’
	/loi/	‘village’
	/lawə/	‘bring’
	/lowə/	‘raise’
/ə/vs./u/		
	/bəcuŋ/	‘arm’
	/bucuŋ/	‘muscle’
	/təiro/	‘push’
	/tuירו/	‘dig’

### 3.1.3. Description and Distribution of Vowels.

All the vowel phonemes /i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ occur in all three positions of word in the language. The vowel phonemes /u/ occur in all three positions of words however the occurrence in the initial position is very less i.e., initially it occurs only in few examples in the language while it occurs frequently in other positions. Hence all the vowel phonemes occur in word medial position in the language.

/i/ High front short unrounded vowel, it occurs initial, medial and final positions.

**Initial**

/iŋ/ 'brother in-law'

/iɔdaŋ/ 'alone'

**Medial**

/biŋa/ 'air'

/ziŋ/ 'sleep'

**Final**

/ti/ 'water'

/kui/ 'hand'

/e/ Mid front short unrounded vowel, it occurs initial, medial and final positions.

**Initial**

/eɾoŋme/ 'husband'

/eŋa/ 'pony'

**Medial**

/keka/ 'hen'

/keitu/        ‘egg’

**Final**

/goize/        ‘escort’

/caŋbe/        ‘kid’

/ə/ Mid central short unrounded vowel, it occurs initial, medial and final positions.

**Initial**

/ədaŋcuwa/    ‘short man’

/əraŋme/       ‘wife’s sister’

**Medial**

/cəŋwa/        ‘son’

/cəŋke/        ‘lizard’

**Final**

/kepə/         ‘chest’

/puɪə/         ‘snake’

/a/ Low central short unrounded vowel, it occurs initial, medial and final positions.

**Initial**

/aŋ/            ‘drink’

/apa/           ‘father’

**Medial**

/wati/        ‘rain’

/haiwa/      ‘ill’

**Final**

/luka/        ‘sheep’

/demsə/      ‘temple’

/o/ Mid back short rounded vowel, it occurs initial, medial and final positions.

**Initial**

/oraŋpa/      ‘old man’

/oŋtikai/     ‘ring’

**Medial**

/jomle/       ‘twin’

/topro/       ‘cap’

**Final**

/lo/           ‘get up’

/laro/        ‘bring’

/u/ High back short rounded vowel, it occurs initial, medial and final positions.

**Initial**

/uhuwa/      ‘half’

/uwa/        ‘horse’

### Medial

/yuti/            ‘milk’

/luintu/          ‘stone’

### Final

/ayu/            ‘mother’

Table 3 provides the distribution of vowels in three positions initial, medial and final.

Phonemes	Initially	Medially	Finally
i	✓	✓	✓
e	✓	✓	✓
ə	✓	✓	✓
a	✓	✓	✓
o	✓	✓	✓
u	✓	✓	✓

#### 3.1.4. Description of vowels and distribution of their positional variants.

The phoneme /i/ is a short, high front unrounded vowel. It has two positional variants viz, [ɪ] and [i]

The [ɪ] is realized as a lower-high front unrounded vowel and it occurs initially and medially.

/iŋ/            [ɪŋ]            ‘brother elder/younger’

/ita/            [ɪta]            ‘here’

/ioti/            [ɪoti]            ‘cauldron’

/biu/            [bɪu]            ‘marriage’

/giwa/	[gÍwa]	‘shoot door’
/ciwa/	[cÍwa]	‘tear’
/leiwa/	[lɛÍwa]	‘cook’
/bida/	[bÍda]	‘comb’
/miŋ /	[mÍŋ]	‘name’
/ziŋ/	[zÍŋ]	‘maize’

The [i] is realized as a high front unrounded vowel and it occurs elsewhere.

/gui/	[gUí]	‘crocodile’
/zusi/	[zUsí]	‘cockroach’
/mamsri/	[mamsrí]	‘jackal’
/toi/	[tɔi]	‘trunk’
/boŋoi/	[boŋɔí]	‘white ant’
/ji/	[jÍ]	‘leopard’
/əsi/	[əsí]	‘gum’
/ti/	[tì]	‘water’
/ziri/	[zIrí]	‘net’

The phoneme /e/ is a short, mid front unrounded vowel. It has two positional variants viz. [ɛ] and [e]

The [ɛ] is realized as a lower-mid front unrounded vowel and it occurs in the closed syllables.

/ero/	[éro]	‘pressure’
/eŋ/	[éŋ]	‘ginger’
/tɛzu/	[tézu]	‘squirrel’
/cɛmi/	[c`ɛmi]	‘daughter’
/kɛwa/	[kéwa]	‘birth’
/bedi/	[bédi]	‘noble’

The [e] is realized as a mid front unrounded vowel and it occurs elsewhere.

/kuize/	[kUize]	‘stay’
/mɔse/	[mɔsé]	‘like’
/kɔne/	[kɔne]	‘two’
/ke/	[ké]	‘horn’
/pɛ/	[pé]	‘grandmother’
/mè/	[mè]	‘wife’
/ye/	[yè]	‘answer (a call)’

The phoneme /ə/ is a short, mid, central unrounded vowel. It has no perceptible positional variants.

/əpa/	[`əpá]	‘family’
/əta/	[ətá]	‘old’
/dabe/	[dəbè]	‘jaw’
/nəbe/	[n`əbé]	‘nose’

/əɟə/	[əɟə́ ]	‘crew’
/petə/	[petə́ ]	‘insect’
/də/	[d`ə]	‘nephew’

The phoneme /a/ is a short, central low unrounded vowel. It has no perceptible positional variants.

/apa/	[apá]	‘father’
/ajipa/	[ajIpá]	‘believe’
/haɲ/	[hàɲ]	‘happen’
/kaɲ/	[káɲ]	‘look at’
/wati/	[watí]	‘slide’
/naya/	[náyà]	‘fish’
/doza/	[dɔzà]	‘flag’
/sa/	[sà]	‘house’
/bida/	[bIdá]	‘comb’

The phoneme /o/ is a short, mid back rounded vowel. It has two positional variants viz, [ɔ] and [o]

The [ɔ] is realized as a lower-mid back rounded vowel and it occurs only in the closed syllables.

/oka/	[ɔ́ka]	‘pipe’
/oɲtikai/	[ɔ́ɲtikaí]	‘ring’
/koto/	[kɔ́to]	‘upper jaw’



/poro/	[pɔ́ ro]	‘head’
/soka/	[sɔ́ kà]	‘tortoise’
/doŋ/	[dɔ́ ŋ]	‘horn’

The [o] is realized as a mid back rounded vowel and it occurs elsewhere.

/baró/	[baró]	‘friend’
/siŋhó/	[siŋhó]	‘lion’
/poro/	[pórò]	‘head’
/yo/	[yò]	‘breast’
/zo/	[zó]	‘command’
/ló/	[ló]	‘wake up’

The phoneme /u/ is a short, high back rounded vowel. It has two perceptible positional variants viz, [ʊ] and [u]

The [ʊ] is realized as a lower-high back rounded vowel and it occurs only in the first closed syllables.

/uipusa/	[úipusa]	‘request’
/uti/	[ʊti]	‘pot’
/kuŋa/	[kúŋa]	‘tiger’
/tuŋ/	[tʊŋ]	‘cheat’
/luka/	[lúka]	‘sheep’
/kusiŋ/	[kùsín]	‘nail’

/zusi/	[zúsi]	‘cockroach’
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The [u] is realized as a high back rounded vowel and it occurs elsewhere.

/ku/	[kú]	‘nine’
/cu/	[cú]	‘plough’
/iu/	[iù]	‘wine’
/nəgu/	[nəgù]	‘bed’
/gusu/	[gòsù]	‘field’

### 3.1.5. Diphthongs

Toto has nine diphthongs viz., /iu/ /ei/, /eu/, /əi/, /ai/, /au/, /oi/, /ou/. and /ui/. Phonetically they are realized as [iʊ] [eɪ],[eʊ], [əɪ], [oɪ], [aɪ], [aʊ], [oʊ]. and [ʊɪ]. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages of North Eastern India, diphthongs in the language occur only in the open syllable rather than closed one. Diphthong /ui/ occurs in all positions, /iu/ and /eu/ occur initial and medial positions, /ai/, /oi/, /əi/, and /ei/ occur medial and final positions while /ou/ and /au/ occur only in the medial positions of word. Consider the following examples.

/iu/ it occurs initially and medially

#### **Initial**

/iu/	‘wine’
/iutə/	‘north’
/iumbi/	‘musical instrument’

#### **Medial**

/giua/	‘cover’
--------	---------

/ei/ it occurs medially and finally.

**Medial**

/teɪju/ 'squirrel'

/keɪwa/ 'loan'

/keɪpawa/ 'joint'

**Final**

/ɟitei/ 'aunt'

/kei/ 'ring'

/tamei/ 'grave'

/əi/ it occurs medially and finally.

**Medial**

/cəɪntra/ 'orange'

/ɟəɪŋwa/ 'antelope'

/səɪnɟa/ 'maize'

**Final**

/pɪsəi/ 'aunt'

/lədəi/ 'banana flower'

/ləi/ 'come'

/ai/ it occurs initially and medially.

**Initial**

/ainpu/        ‘day before yesterday’

**Medial**

/maibe/        ‘flower’

/kaiwa/        ‘cry’

/kaina/        ‘roar’

**Final**

/hatai/        ‘spoon’

/haprai/       ‘jungle betel leaf’

/cepreŋsai/    ‘been’

/au/ it occurs only in the medial position.

**Medial**

/tauki/        ‘snail’

/jaula/        ‘beg’

/eu/ it occurs initial and medial position.

**Initial**

/euwa/        ‘keep’

/euniwa/       ‘blue’

### **Medial**

/beula/        ‘bridegroom’

/beuli/        ‘bride’

/oi/ it occurs medial and final positions.

### **Medial**

/zoipina/      ‘save’

/toise/        ‘mango’

/ŋoisay/      ‘worm’

### **Final**

/loi/            ‘village’

/kokoi/        ‘leg’

/poroi/        ‘pigeon’

/ou/ it occurs only in the medial positions.

### **Medial**

/mourija/      ‘infant’

/mousi/        ‘step mother’

/touri/        ‘mustard’

/ui/ it occurs all three positions.

### **Initial**

/uipusa/       ‘request’

/uiwa/        ‘to ask’

### **Medial**

/guipu/	‘pillar’
/puisa/	‘father younger sister husband’
/puija/	‘cobra’(snack)

### **Final**

/kui/	‘hand’
/lutui/	‘bat’
/ketui/	‘egg’

#### **3.1.6. Vowel Sequence**

There are two vowel sequences realized in the Toto language such as /oa/ and /ua/. These vowel sequences in the language occur both medial and final positions of word. The first member in the sequences are high and mid back vowels whereas the second members of the sequences are always central low unrounded /a/ vowel. It should be mentioned here that the sequence /oa/ is most common one i.e. occurs frequently in the language. The single dot /./ indicates the syllabic boundary in the present analysis. The following examples illustrate the vowel sequences in Toto language.

#### **The sequence /o.a/ occurs in the middle position**

/yo.ai/	‘cheeck’
/mo.aŋ/	‘paddy’
/yo.ai/	‘face’
/no.ai/	‘boat’

**The sequence /o.a/ occurs in the final position.**

/no.a/            ‘predict’

**The sequence /u.a/ occurs in the final position.**

/du.a/            ‘elder brother’

/nu.a/            ‘sister in-law’

### 3.2. Tones

One of the significant features of Tibeto-Burman languages is that most of the languages are tonal; Toto is no exception in this regard. Being a language of the Tibeto Burman family Toto shows two way tone contrast.

(i) High tone: the high tone is realized as the pitch which is suddenly rises from the pitch level of the normal speech which is found in most of the non-tonal languages. It is marked by an acute mark over the vowel.

(ii) Low tone: in contrast to high tone, the low tone is realized as the sudden fall of pitch from the pitch level of the normal speech which is found most of the non-tonal languages. It is marked with a grave mark over the vowel.

Tones are supra-segmental phonemes and it plays a significant role in this language, i.e. by changing the pitch of tone, the same word indicates a different meaning. Tone is phonemic in the language. The contrast of two tones could be seen in the following set of illustrations.

High	Low
/	\

Table 4: Tone

### 3.2.1. Tone contrast

/náya/            ‘bear’

/nàya/            ‘fish’

/káwa/            ‘bitter’

/kàwa/            ‘sound’

/noí/               ‘second’

/noi/               ‘boat’

/gíwa/            ‘garland’

/gìwa/            ‘follow’

/tári/              ‘moon’

/tàri/              ‘month’

/cúnca/           ‘forest’

/cùnca/           ‘cats’

/céŋwa/           ‘count’

/cèŋwa/           ‘child’

### 3.3. Consonants

There are eighteen (18) consonantal phonemes /**p, b, t, d, c, j, k, g, m, n, ŋ, s, z, h, r, l, w** and **y**/ in Toto. They can be categorized in terms of the following places of articulations namely bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and



glottal, and in terms of their manner of articulations the same phonemes further categorized into stops, nasals, fricatives, lateral, trill and semi-vowels. Toto has a good number of stop consonants in different series: unaspirated voiceless stops /**p, t, k**/, unaspirated voiced stops /**b, d, g**/, no aspirated voiced/voiceless stops have been noticed. As far as nasal consonants are concerned, Toto relatively confirms with all other Tibeto-Burman languages i.e., it has three basic nasals /**m, n, ŋ**/. It is general assumption that these three basic nasals are the proto forms of nasals in Tibeto-Burman languages. In the case of fricative sounds, Toto contrasts three distinctive phonemes /**s, z, h**/. There are also lateral /**l**/ and trill /**r**/ without having their voiceless counterparts. Other than the above phonemes, there are two semi-vowels /**w, y**/ in the language. The consonantal phonemes of Toto are presented below.

	<b>Bilabial</b>	<b>Alveolar</b>	<b>Palatal</b>	<b>Velar</b>	<b>Glottal</b>
Stops	P      b	t      d	c      ɟ	k      g	
Nasals	m	n		ŋ	
Trill		r			
Fricatives		s      z			h
Lateral		l			
Semivowels	w		y		

**Table 5: Consonantal phonemes in Toto**

### **3.3.1. Minimal Pairs**

The consonantal phonemes of Toto have been established on the basis of following minimal pairs.

/p/vs/b/

/poroi/ 'pigeon'

/boroi/ 'adams apple'

/pari/ 'turban for women'

/bari/ 'field'

/paiwa/ 'cut'

/baiwa/ 'get up'

/t/vs/d/

/tuwa/ 'run'

/dua/ 'elder brother'

/tace/ 'ten rupees'

/dace/ 'jackfruit'

/toa/ 'to get something'

/doa/ 'to through something by hand'

/c/vs/ɟ/

/ca/ 'to eat'

/ɟa/ 'stand up'

/cuwa/ 'grandson'

/ɟuwa/ 'father in law'

/cəŋwa/ 'son'

/ɟəŋwa/ 'high'

/k/ vs /g/

/ka/ 'I'

/ga/ 'sit'

/kaŋ/ 'to see'

/gaŋ/ 'cottage'

/kawa/ 'bitter'

/gawa/ 'happy'

/m/ vs /n/

/me/ 'fire'

/ne/ 'wait'

/ma/ 'negative morpheme'

/na/ 'pst marker'

/namu/ 'mouth'

/nanu/ 'ear'

/n/ vs /ŋ/

/dina/ 'cutting jungle'

/diŋa/ 'human'

/nakai/ 'five hundred'

/ŋakai/ 'one hundred'

/ana/ 'father's brother's daughter'

/aŋa/ 'fly'

/s/vs/z/	
/sa/	‘house’
/za/	‘standup’
/so/	‘and’
/zo/	‘command’
/suta/	‘musk’
/zuta/	‘shoe’
/s/vs/h/	
/sa/	‘house’
/ha/	‘go’
/sini/	‘suger’
/hini/	‘today’
/saŋ/	‘cotton’
/haŋ/	‘to cook’
/r/vs/l/	
/murra/	‘ant’
/mulla/	‘radish’
/duri/	‘sixth’
/duli/	‘portico’
/jora/	‘river’
/jola/	‘pocket’

/w/vs/y/

/waŋwa/      ‘come’  
/yaŋwa/      ‘crowd’

/sewa/      ‘to come fruit in a tree’  
/seya/      ‘louse’

### 3.3.2. Description and Distribution of Consonants

Out of 18 Consonants /ŋ/ and /l/ occur in all positions of word. The phonemes /m/, /n/ and /r/ occur only initial and medial positions of word, and /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /c/, /j/, /s/, /z/, /h/, /w/ and /y/ phonemes occur initial and medial positions.

/p/ voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop consonant occurs in the initial and medial positions.

#### **Initial**

/paka/      ‘pig’  
/pika/      ‘cow’  
/peta/      ‘silk worm’

#### **Medial**

/jupa/      ‘body’  
/lapa/      ‘leaf’  
/moipa/      ‘jungle pig’

/b/ voiced bilabial unaspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

#### **Initial**

/bana/      ‘flute’

/barcu/	‘sand’
/bekoŋ/	‘skin’ (animals)

### **Medial**

/nabe/	‘nose’
/lebe/	‘tongue’
/gibe/	‘deer’

/t/ voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop occurs in initial and medial positions.

### **Initial**

/tari/	‘star’
/tanaŋta/	‘far away’
/tuiwa/	‘run’

### **Medial**

/ata/	‘grand father’
/ita/	‘here’
/lita/	‘down’

/d/ voiced alveolar unaspirated stop occurs initial and medial positions.

### **Initial**

/dua/	‘elder brother’
/da/	‘nephew’
/daŋkreŋ/	‘right hand’

### **Medial**

/bida/            ‘comp’

/nadiŋwa/       ‘dark’

/jodiŋna/        ‘plug’

/c/ voiceless palatal unaspirated stop occurs initial and medial positions.

### **Initial**

/coka/            ‘tortoise’

/cəintra/         ‘orange’

/cenepa/         ‘dry’

### **Medial**

/bucuŋ/           ‘shoulder’

/yacuwa/         ‘discuss’

/eco/              ‘one’

/j/ voiced palatal unaspirated stop occurs initial and medial positions.

### **Initial**

/jiya/             ‘bird’

/ji/                ‘leopard’

/jora/             ‘river’

### **Medial**

/teju/            ‘squirrel’

/taŋja/           ‘hawk’

/guja/            ‘dove’

/k/ voiceless velar unaspirated stop occur initial and medial positions.

### **Initial**

/kuinero/        ‘keep time’

/keka/            ‘hen’

/kura/            ‘wind no wind fan’

### **Medial**

/dika/            ‘buffalo’

/sika/            ‘jungle hen’

/paka/            ‘pig’

/g/ voiced velar unaspirated stop occurs initial and medial positions.

### **Initial**

/ga/              ‘sit’

/gewa/           ‘intellect’

/gapani/         ‘cover’



### **Medial**

/yiga/	‘book’
/yagoi/	‘mountain’
/pagruse/	‘sweet pumpkin’

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal occurs in all positions of word.

### **Initial**

/mocuro/	‘dare’
/menki/	‘cat’
/migro/	‘eye brow’

### **Medial**

/lambera/	‘tomato’
/namu/	‘mouth’
/pema/	‘belly’

### **Final**

/kam/	‘work’
/laŋam/	‘front’
/nomram/	‘expect’

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal occurs in all positions of word.

### **Initial**

/ni/	‘salt’
/nico/	‘two’

/nanuŋ/        ‘ear’

### **Medial**

/ana/            ‘elder sister’

/hurana/        ‘circle’

/gana/           ‘stay’

### **Final**

/suan/           ‘change’

/ŋ/ voiced velar nasal occurs in all positions of word.

### **Initial**

/ŋoka/           ‘monkey’

/ŋoisəŋ/        ‘earth worm’

/ŋakai/           ‘one hundred’

### **Medial**

/yʊŋba/        ‘dry ginger’

/boŋoi/           ‘white ant’

/tuŋciŋ/        ‘breath’

### **Final**

/diyaŋ/           ‘swan’

/doŋ/            ‘horn’

/ʒukuŋ/        ‘tomorrow’

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative occurs initial and medial positions.

**Initial**

/soka/ 'rabbit'

/sipuna/ 'death'

/sika/ 'jungle hen'

**Medial**

/misiwa/ 'alive'

/asi/ 'gum'

/haŋsa/ 'duck'

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative occurs initial and medial positions of word.

**Initial**

/zibə/ 'bow'

/zina/ 'window'

/zuse/ 'hailstorm'

**Medial**

/əzua/ 'pocket'

/səinza/ 'maize'

/əinzi/ 'yesterday'

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs initial and medial positions.

**Initial**

/haiwa/	‘diseases’
/hawa/	‘accompany’
/huiya/	‘crab’

**Medial**

/mihɪŋwa/	‘deaf’
/sanahawa/	‘diarrhea’
/yutihuina/	‘bleed’

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral occurs in all positions.

**Initial**

/luicuwa/	‘fight’
/lu/	‘put on’
/luintu/	‘stone’

**Medial**

/molə/	‘musk’
/dalaiwa/	‘long’
/bakula/	‘crane’

**Final**

/jampəl/	‘axe’
/dal/	‘pulse’

/r/ voiced alveolar trill occurs only in the initial and medial positions.

**Initial**

/roma/            ‘then’

**Medial**

/suru/            ‘lung’

/heŋpra/          ‘rib’

/zora/            ‘become’

/w/ voiced bilabial semi-vowel occurs initial and medial positions.

**Initial**

/wa/              ‘husband’

/waiwa/          ‘pull out’

/wati/            ‘rain’

**Medial**

/duwa/          ‘step brother’

/jowa/           ‘do’

/cawa/          ‘rest’

/y/ voiced palatal semi-vowel occurs initial and medial positions.

**Initial**

/yowa/          ‘push into’

/yepiwa/      ‘attack’

/yuti/          ‘milk’

### **Medial**

/kuiye/        ‘stay’

/ziya/          ‘bird’

### **3.3.3. Consonant cluster**

The term consonant cluster refers to the combination of two or more consonants  $C_1C_2$  occurring together within a syllable, for example both /*pl-*/ and /*-nt*/ are initial and final clusters in the word *plant* in English. Toto permits upto two consonant clusters in an initial and medial syllable, while no consonant clusters occur in word finally. It is also observed that the consonant clusters in the language are very few in number. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the first member of the initial clusters in Toto can be unaspirated voiceless stops /p/,/b/ and /k/, while the liquid sounds /l/ and /r/ occupy their positions as the second member of the clusters are exemplified below with the help of table.

First member	Second member	
	r	l
P	*	*
b	*	*
k	*	*

**Table 6: Initial two consonant clusters**

### 3.3.3.1. The initial occurrences of C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> clusters.

<u>Consonant clusters</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Stop + Liquid.		
/pr/	/prai/	‘betel leaf’
	/pral/	‘paddy plant’
/br/	/braŋ/	‘plate’
	/bruŋbruŋ/	‘sugarcane’
/kr/	/kriŋ/	‘knee’
	/kraŋti/	‘kerosene’
/kl/	/klai/	‘play’

### 3.3.3.2. Medial consonant clusters.

In case of medial consonant clusters the first member may be p,b,t,d, ʃ, k,g and s where as the liquid and the trill phonemes occupy as a second member which are exemplified through the table followed by the examples.

First members	Second members	
	r	l
p	*	-
b	*	-
t	*	-
d	*	-
ʃ	*	-
k	*	-
g	*	-
s	*	-

Table 7 Medial consonant clusters

Stop+Liquid.

/pr/	/epraŋ/	‘no problem’
	/haprai/	‘jungle betel leaf’
	/heŋpra/	‘backbone’
/br/	/iyuŋbri/	‘younger sister’
	/dibruŋ/	‘big stick’
	/brunbruŋ/	‘bottle gourd’
/tr/	/petreŋpuna/	‘fall down’
	/tatraiwa/	‘bright’



	/botra/	‘bottle’
/kr/	/kekɾeŋ/	‘left hand’
	/peŋkru/	‘a kind of bird (Bulbuli)’
	/kaŋkrase/	‘staranize’ or ‘star fruit’
/dr/	/pendrasin/	‘a kind of smelling tree’
	/sedraŋwa/	‘anger’
/gr/	/pagruse/	‘pumpkin’
	/beŋgri/	‘brinjal’
	/begɾeŋ/	‘feather’

Fricative+Liquid.

/sr/	/tosrai/	‘a cooking tool for curry’
	/dosro/	‘meet’

### 3.3.4. Consonant sequence

The term consonant sequence in the present analysis refers to the combination of more than one consonants occurring across the syllable boundary. Unlike consonant clusters, the consonant sequences in Toto are very rich; however, they occur only in the medial position of words. So the first members of the sequences are always stops nasals and trill while stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, lateral, trill and semi-vowels occupy the second members of the same. Hence the second members are more in the CC sequences in Toto than the first one in terms of its numerical strength. The occurrences of consonant C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> sequence in Toto are given below.

<u>Consonant sequence</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<b>Stop + stop</b>		
/- pp-/	/lap.pa/	‘leaf’
/-pk-/	/hep.koŋ/	‘morning’
/-pt-/	/banaip.tena/	‘foundation’
/-bb-/	/yab.bri/	‘vegetable’
/-tk-/	/put.kui/	‘a kind of wine’
/-kd-/	/mik.do/	‘eye brow’
<b>Nasal+Nasal</b>		
/-nn-/	/puin.na/	‘burn’
/- ŋm-/	/paŋ.mi/	‘hungry’
	/eroŋ.me/	‘husband’s sister’
	/oraŋ.me/	‘old woman’
/-ŋn-/	/maŋ.na/	‘don’t take’
	/jaŋ.na/	‘allow’
	/loŋ.niŋ/	‘point’
<b>Trill+Stops</b>		
/-rp-/	/jur.paito/	‘house lizard’
/-rd-/	/bor.doŋ/	‘wood pecker’
/-rk-/	/pir.ki/	‘a slice of bamboo used as ladle for cooking’

/-rc-/                      /bar.cu/                      ‘sand’

                                 /tor.cuwa/                      ‘greet’

                                 /ber.ce/                      ‘palm’

### **Trill+Fricative**

/-rs-/                      /tonpor.se/                      ‘guava’

                                 /pagur.se/                      ‘pumpkin’

### **Nasal+ Stops**

/-mb-/                      /mem.buna/                      ‘dream’

/-nt-/                      /nopun.tena/                      ‘decide’

                                 /guin.tuwa/                      ‘foggy’

                                 /luin.tu/                      ‘stone’

/-ŋp-/                      /petreŋ.puna/                      ‘falling down’

                                 /haŋ.pa/                      ‘why’

                                 /waŋ.pana/                      ‘flat’

/-ŋb-/                      /leŋ.ba/                      ‘police’

                                 /taŋ.ba/                      ‘foot’

                                 /diŋ.ba/                      ‘sky’

/-ŋt-/                      /haŋ.ta/                      ‘where’

                                 /meŋ.tapa/                      ‘neglect’

	/eŋ.tawa/	‘peddle’
/-ŋk-/	/miŋ.ki/	‘cat’
/-ŋg-/	/oyeŋ.ga/	‘settle’
/-ŋj-/	/haŋ.jopuna/	‘regret’

#### **Nasal+Trill**

/-mr-/	/nom.raŋ/	‘expect’
/-ŋr-/	/aŋ.ro/	‘drink’
	/jiŋ.ro/	‘sleep’

#### **Nasal + Fricative**

/-ms-/	/katam.sai/	‘bitter guard’
	/jem.se/	‘lemon’
/-ŋs-/	/ceŋ.suwa/	‘shout’
	/taŋ.samu/	‘all’
	/haŋ.sa/	‘duck’

#### **Nasal+Lateral**

/-ml-/	/jom.le/	‘twin’
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#### **Nasal+ Semi-vowel**

/-ŋw-/	/loŋ.wa/	‘pack’
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#### **Fricative+Stop**

/-sp-/	/nas.pu/	‘cut’
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/los.pu/	‘swell’
/tes.puna/	‘to kill oneself by rope’

### **Fricative+Nasal**

/-sm-/	/kas.ma/	‘dagger’
/-sn-/	/lois.na/	‘warm’

### **Fricative+ Trill**

/-sr-/	/dos.ro/	‘meet’
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### **Lateral+ stops**

/-lt-/	/bal.tin/	‘bucket’
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## **3.4. Syllable**

A syllable may be defined as a unit of pronunciation uttered without any interruption. In other words, a sequence of phonemes with one peak of sonority is also considered a syllable. It is made up of one or more than one phoneme. Generally the vowel element is essential to the structure of a syllable therefore the vowel obviously is the obligatory element in a syllable and is called its nucleus or peak. A syllable ending in a vowel is called open syllable and a syllable ending in a consonant is called closed syllable.

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, only vowels make the nucleus of a syllable in Toto i.e., there is no syllabic consonants in the language. Toto syllables basically consist of a nucleus with or without an onset and a nucleus with or without a coda. However it should be mentioned here that

only a vowel or a diphthong may become a syllable or morpheme or word in Toto. It is also interesting to note that a word in Toto may consist of one or more syllables. So the maximum number of syllables in a word is four but their occurrence is very limited in the language. Given below are the different types of syllables that we have in Toto.

### 3.4.1. Mono-syllabic words

The CV is the most common pattern in the case of the mono-syllabic words in Toto whereas VC pattern is found in the mono-syllabic words of the language but it not very frequent like CV. The basic syllable structure in the language is V, VV, VC, CV, CVV, CCVC, and CVC. Here the symbols V, VV and C represent the vowel, diphthong and the consonant respectively. The following is the structure of mono-syllabic words in Toto.

#### Mono-syllabic Words

Open	V	/e /	‘brother’
	<u>VV</u>	/oi/	‘yes’
	CV	/ga/	‘sit’
	<u>CVV</u>	/lei/	‘come’
Closed.	VC	/aŋ/	‘I’
		/eŋ/	‘ginger’
	CVC	/kuŋ/	‘my’
		/nuŋ/	‘to thank someone’
	CCVC	/braŋ/	‘plate’

### 3.4.2 Disyllabic Words

Second syllable is open

CV.V	/du.a/	‘elder brother’
CV.CV	/pi.ka/	‘cow’
CVC.CV	/miŋ.ki/	‘cat’
CCV <u>V</u> .CV	/klai.ro/	‘play’

Second syllable is closed

CV.CVC	/la.puŋ/	‘door’
CVC.CVC	/hep.koŋ/	‘morning’
CCVC. CCVC	/bruŋ.bruŋ/	‘sugar cane’

### 3.4.3. Trisyllabic Words

This kind of syllable occurs only in open position of a word.

Third syllable is open.

CV.CV.CV	/ha.ko.ga/	‘honor’
CV.CVC.CV	/ta.naŋ.ta/	‘far away’
CV <u>V</u> .CV.CV	/tui.ca.ro/	‘get up’
CVC.CVC.CV <u>V</u>	/cep.reŋ.sai/	‘been’

### 3.4.4. Tetrasyllabic Words

This kind of syllable occurs only in open position of a word.

Fourth syllable is open.

V.CVC.CV.CV      /ə.daŋ.cu.wa/      ‘dwarf’

CV.CV.CV.CV      /ca.wa.cu.ti/      ‘mustard oil’

### 3.5. Morphophonemics

#### 3.5.1. Unreleased voiceless stops

The voiceless stops become unreleased when they occur in syllable or wordfinal position. Absence of release in this position is phonetic in Toto

<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-radius: 15px; padding: 10px; display: inline-block;"> <p>-syllabic</p> <p>-sonorant</p> <p>-continuant</p> <p>-strident</p> <p>-voice</p> </div>	> [-released] /---- \$
--	------------------------

[p]	[topro]	‘cap’
	[yopmi]	‘to take out’
[t]	[hətrəŋ]	‘when’
	[ɟittən]	‘sieve’
[k]	[mIk]	‘eye’
	[bəksi]	‘box’
[c]	[lɔcmi]	‘to wear’
	[tɔcmi]	‘pain’



### 3.5.2. Monophthongization

This is one of the tendencies in Toto language that most of the vowel sequences become monophthong in the casual or spontaneous speech. Here the sequence of high back and /u/ + the central low unrounded vowel /a/ becomes the mid back rounded vowel /o/.

u.a > o

/su.aŋ/	>	/soŋa/	‘change’
/wu.ati/	>	/woti/	‘rain’
/ɟu.aŋ/	>	/ɟoŋ/	‘answer a question’

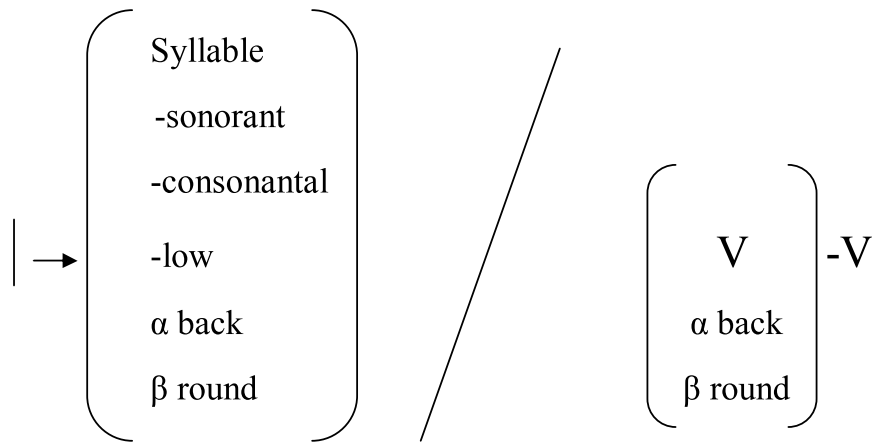
Like vowel sequences, most of the diphthongs become monophthongs in the casual or spontaneous speech in Toto. The following examples are cited for the diphthong /iu/ becomes /u/.

iu > u

/ayiu/	>	/ayu/	‘dress up’
/liutui/	>	lutui	‘ass’
/liuka/	>	/luka/	‘sheep’
/biucun/	>	/bucun/	‘shoulder’

### 3.5.3. Epenthesis

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeastern India, Toto has a tendency for the insertion of semi-vowels /y/ or /w/ in between two vowels to break a cluster of two vowels as exemplified below.



E.g.,

/bia/	-	/biya/	‘meat’
/bei/	-	/byei/	‘clan’
/kei/	-	/kyei/	‘sour’
/cea/	-	/cewa/	‘cut’

## Chapter-4

### Morphology

#### 4.1. Nouns

Nouns in Toto can be determined by their function in grammatical constructions as subjects or objects. Morphologically, they are determined by suffixing morphemes for number, gender and case. Nouns in Toto can be classified into basic nouns, derived nouns, and compound nouns.

##### 4.1.1. Basic nouns

##### 4.1.1.1. Syllabic structure of noun roots

##### 4.1.1.1.1. Monosyllabic noun roots

Monosyllabic noun roots having the syllabic pattern VC, CV, CVC, and CVV are found in Toto. Monosyllabic word having CVC pattern are frequently found in the language. However, monosyllabic words having VC pattern are comparatively less in number.

VC	ij	‘a kind of tree’
	ej	‘ginger’
	ul	‘cotton’
CV	da	‘chopper’
	sa	‘house’
	ga	‘what’
	ka	‘I’
	me	‘wife’
	ni	‘salt’
	wa	‘husband’

CVC	cun	‘to catch’
	gun	‘mushroom’
	cen	‘child’
	hin	‘lesson’
	han	‘what’
	dan	‘horn’
	kun	‘my’
	nin	‘to raise’
	men	‘medicine’
	min	‘name’
	jin	‘to tie’
	jan	‘speak’
	zon	‘a kind of paddy’
	kan	‘to see’
	tun	‘cover’
	min	‘ripe’
CV <u>V</u>	<u>dai</u>	‘to dig hole’
	pai	‘to cut’
	gui	‘crocodile’

#### 4.1.1.1.2. Disyllabic noun roots

Disyllabic nouns roots with V.CV, CV.CV, CV.CVC, CV.VV , CVV.CV, CVC.CV and CVC.CVC syllabic pattern are found in Toto.

V.CV	e.ɲa	‘horse’
	ə.pa	‘father’

	a.si	‘stool’
	ə.ma	‘cooked rice’
	e.wa	‘cough’
	a.ri	‘saw’
CV.CV	po.ʒa	‘bachelor’
	cu.me	‘daughter’s daughter’
	sa.ni	‘sun’
	ce.me	‘daughter’
	ta.ri	‘moon’
	ʒe.ʒe	‘storm’
	me.me	‘female’
	na.ya	‘bear’
	mo.ta	‘insect’
	ti.ma	‘leech’
	za.ŋa	‘mosquito’
CV.CVC	ta.kur	‘barbar’
	pi.diŋ	‘eagle’
	gu.rul	‘vulture’
	ku.siŋ	‘claw’
	na.nuŋ	‘ear’
CV.CV <u>Y</u>	ʒi.tei	‘father’s brother’s wife’
	pi.sei	‘father’s sister elder’
	po.roi	‘pigeon’

	za.sai	‘scorpion’
	yo.yai	‘cheeck’
CV <u>V</u> .CV	moi.na	‘myana’
	zui.wa	‘mouse’
	hui.ya	‘crocodile’
	cui.ma	‘honey bee’
	kui.tu	‘egg’
	pui.ya	‘snake’
CVC.CV	ceŋ.wa	‘boy’
	diŋ.ba	‘sky’
	haŋ.sa	‘duck’
	siŋ.ho	‘lion’
	ler.ka	‘centipede’
	ceŋ.be	‘chick’
CVC.CVC	beŋ.reŋ	‘feather’
	tuŋ.ciŋ	‘heart’
	tuŋ.siŋ	‘skull’
	beg.reŋ	‘spine’

#### 4.1.1.1.3. Trisyllabic noun roots

Trisyllabic noun roots with V.CV.CV, VC.CV.CV, CV.CV.CV, CV.CVC.CV, CVC.CV.CV, CVC.CV.CVC, CVC.CVC.CV, CVC.CVC.CVV syllabic pattern are found in Toto.

V.CV.CV	a.lu.wa	‘red’
VC.CV.CV	ac.ka.na	‘hatred’
CV.CV.CV	ba.ro.bi	‘relatives’
	na.ki.na	‘sneeze’
	ba.ku.la	‘crane’
	ba.bui.si	‘butterfly’
	mi.aŋ.na	‘alive’
	bu.cu.wa	‘fat’
	ka.su.ma	‘dagger’
	si.ma.na	‘border’
CV.CVC.CV	pa.gur.se	‘pumpkin’
	mi.tiŋ.wa	‘blind’
	se.daŋ.wa	‘anger’
CVC.CV.CV	gol.pu.le	‘tumour’
	dar.ci.na	‘cinnamon’
	lam.be.ra	‘tomato’
	tet.ri.se	‘tamarind’
CVC.CV.CVC	den.te.pul	‘pimple’
CVC.CVC.CV	toŋ.por.se	‘guava’
CVC.CVC. CVV	cep.reŋ.sai	‘beans’

#### 4.1.1.1.4. Tetrasyllabic noun roots

Noun roots that belong to this group are even fewer than the tetrasyllabic noun roots.

V.CVC.CV.CV	e.dəŋ.cu.wa	‘short’
CV.CV.CV.CV	ka.ta.la.wa	‘drama’
	du.zu.ku.mu	‘mongoose’

#### 4.1.2. Derived nouns

Derived nouns are mainly derived from the verb by suffixing nominalizer *-wa* to the verb root followed by the morpheme *poja* are shown below.

##### 4.1.2.1. Agentive Nouns

<i>yui</i>	‘dance’	<i>yui-wa-poja</i>	‘dancer’
<i>klai</i>	‘play’	<i>klai-wa-poja</i>	‘player’
<i>zezeŋ</i>	‘love’	<i>zezeŋ-wa-poja</i>	‘lover’
<i>tui</i>	‘run’	<i>tui-wa-poja</i>	‘runner’

#### 4.1.3. Compound nouns

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages Toto has a good number of compound nouns. Compound nouns in Toto are formed by the juxtaposition of two morphemes which may be either free or bound. Most of the compound nouns in the language consist of NOUN + NOUN, NOUN + VERB, NOUN + NUMERAL, NOUN+POSTPOSITION as can be seen in the following examples.

##### 4.1.3.1. Noun + Noun

- (1) *raja-komɔŋto*  
[raja ‘king’ + komɔŋto ‘place’]  
‘Kingdom’ (lit. King’s place)



- (2) *raja-kome*  
[raja ‘king’ + kome ‘wife’]  
‘Queen’ (lit. King’s wife)
- (3) *mi-ti*  
[mi ‘eye’ + ti ‘water’]  
‘Tears’ (lit. King’s place)
- (4) *roŋ-botra*  
[roŋ ‘ink’ + botra ‘pot’]  
‘Inkpot’ (lit. Ink bottle)
- (5) *cuy-ca*  
[cuy ‘plant’ + ca ‘place’]  
‘Jungle’ (lit. Plant place)
- (6) *niŋa-hawa*  
[niŋa ‘earth’ + hawa ‘shake’]  
‘Earthquake’ (lit. Earth shake)
- (7) *pika-kosa*  
[pika ‘cow’ + kosa ‘shed’]  
‘Cowshed’ (lit. Cow house)
- (8) *saka-deŋa*  
[saka ‘house’ + deya ‘man’]  
‘Owner’ (lit. House head)

#### 4.1.3.2. Noun + Numerals

- (9) *sa-niu*  
[sa ‘seven’ + niu ‘day’]  
‘Week’ (lit. Seven days)
- (10) *baro-co*  
[baro ‘twelve’ + co ‘month’]  
‘Twelve months’ (lit. One year)

#### 4.1.3.3. Noun + Verb

- (11) *top-ro*  
[top ‘head’ + ro ‘wear’]  
‘Cap’ (lit. Head wear)
- (12) *mik-ro*  
[mik ‘eye’ + ro ‘wear’]  
‘Spectacle’ (lit. Eye wear)
- (13) *bau-i-ta*  
[bau-i ‘luggage’ + ta ‘heavy’]  
‘Burden’ (lit. Heavy burden)

#### 4.1.3.4. Noun + Postposition

- (14) *sako-lanjam*  
[sako ‘home’ + lanjam ‘front’]  
‘Yard’ (lit. Home front)

## 4.2. Pronouns

A pronoun is a word, which is used in place of nouns. They are anaphoric in the sense, that they replace noun in a sentence. Pronouns in Toto can take number and case markers but do not show gender distinction. Pronoun can be used in all persons: (i) first, (ii) second and (iii) third whereas a noun is always used in the third person. The pronoun in Toto can be classified as: i) personal, ii) demonstrative, iii) interrogative, iv) indefinite and v) reflexive pronoun.

### 4.2.1. Personal Pronoun

Personal Pronoun in Toto can be distinguished in three ways i) first person ii) second person and iii) third person. Toto distinguish three persons and two numbers. Structurally the first and second person pronouns are monosyllabic in nature. However, unlike first and second person the third person personal pronoun is disyllabic word. It is interesting to note that the second person personal pronoun *na* is the reflex of Proto Tibeto-Burman *\*naŋ* (Benedict 1972). It is also worth to be mentioned here that the first, and third persons plural are formed by the suffixation of *-biya ~ -bi* to the first second and third person pronouns *ka nati* and *aku* respectively. This is one of the typical features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Toto language. The personal pronouns in Toto are summarised in the following table 8.

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST	<i>ka /kuŋ</i> 'I'/'my'	<i>ka-biya</i> 'we'
SECOND	<i>nati</i> 'you'	<i>nati-biya</i> 'you (PL)'
THIRD	<i>aku</i> 'he/she'	<i>aku-biya</i> 'they'

Table 8 Personal Pronouns in Toto

The used of personal pronouns is shown in the following examples.

- (15) *ka Onima -hing tiŋ-mi*  
 I Onima-ACC see-PRES  
 ‘I see Onima’
- (16) *nati aku-hiŋ tiŋ-mi*  
 you her-ACC see-PRES  
 ‘You see her’
- (17) *aku eta waŋ-mi*  
 he here come-PRES  
 ‘He comes here’
- (18) *kabiya school-ta ha-mi*  
 We school-LOC go-PRES  
 ‘We go to school’
- (19) *nabiya kabiyaŋ tiŋ-mi*  
 you us see-PRES  
 ‘You (pl) see us’
- (20) *abiko ceŋ bi*  
 their son PL  
 ‘Their sons’

The pronouns in Toto can be inflected for cases as given below in table.

Case	Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative – $\emptyset$			
	first	<i>ka-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘I’	<i>ka-biya-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘we’
	second	<i>nati-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘you’	<i>nati-biya-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘he/she’	<i>aku-biya-<math>\emptyset</math></i> ‘they’

	first	<i>ka-hiŋ</i> ‘to me’	<i>ka-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to us’
Accusative – <i>hiŋ</i>	second	<i>nati-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’	<i>nati-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-hiŋ</i> ‘to him/her’	<i>aku-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to them’
	first	<i>ka-hiŋ</i> ‘to me’	<i>ka-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to us’
Dative – <i>hiŋ</i>	second	<i>nati-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’	<i>nati-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-hiŋ</i> ‘to him/her’	<i>aku-biya-hiŋ</i> ‘to them’
Genitive – <i>ko</i>			
	first	<i>ka-ko</i> ‘my’	<i>ka-biya-ko</i> ‘our’
	second	<i>nati-ko</i> ‘your’	<i>nati-biya-ko</i> ‘yours’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-ko</i> ‘his/her’	<i>aku-biya-ko</i> ‘their’
Instrumental – <i>bai</i>			
	first	<i>ka-so</i> ‘by me’	<i>ka-biya-so</i> ‘by us’
	second	<i>natin-so</i> ‘by you’	<i>natin-biya-so</i> ‘by you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-so</i> ‘by him/her’	<i>aku-biya-so</i> ‘by them’
Comitative – <i>yopa</i>			
	first	<i>ka-so</i> ‘with me’	<i>ka-biya-so</i> ‘with us’
	second	<i>natin-so</i> ‘with you’	<i>natin-biya-so</i> ‘with you’ (PL)
	third	<i>aku-so</i> ‘with him/her’	<i>aku-biya-so</i> ‘with them’

Table 9 Personal pronouns with case inflection

#### 4.2.2. Demonstrative pronoun

Demonstrative pronoun in Toto can be categorized on the basis of criteria such as proximity and distal: *i* ‘this’ and *u* ‘that’ as illustrated below.

- |      | Proximate         |              | Distal          |
|------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|
|      | <i>i</i> ‘this’   |              | <i>u</i> ‘that’ |
| (21) | <i>i</i>          | <i>ico</i>   | <i>sa</i>       |
|      | DEM               | one          | house           |
|      | ‘This is a house’ |              |                 |
| (22) | <i>u</i>          | <i>ico</i>   | <i>min̩ki</i>   |
|      | DEM               | one          | cat             |
|      | ‘That is a cat’   |              |                 |
| (23) | <i>i</i>          | <i>pika</i>  |                 |
|      | DEM               | cow          |                 |
|      | ‘This is cow’     |              |                 |
| (24) | <i>u</i>          | <i>hanga</i> |                 |
|      | DEM               | what         |                 |
|      | ‘What is that?’   |              |                 |

#### 4.2.3. Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns are those pronouns, which are used for asking questions. Structurally, interrogative pronouns in Toto can be classified into two types: (i) basic and (ii) derived.

#### 4.2.3.1. Basic Interrogative Pronouns

The basic interrogative pronouns are underived ones as it is illustrated in the following examples.

<i>hasu</i>	‘who’
<i>haŋ</i>	‘what’
<i>hapa</i>	‘how’

#### 4.2.3.2. Derived Interrogative Pronouns

The derived interrogative pronouns are derived from the basic interrogative pronouns *hasu* ‘who’, *haŋ* ‘what’ by adding case markers *-ka*, *-ko* and *-ta* to the same as described in the following examples.

- (25) *hasu-ta*  
[who ‘who’ + ta ‘LOC’]  
‘Whom’

- (26) *hasu-ko*  
[hasu ‘who’ + ko ‘GEN’]  
‘Whose’

- (27) *haŋ-ta*  
[haŋ ‘what’ + ta ‘LOC’]  
‘Where’

It is interesting to note that some of the interrogative pronouns in Toto are derived from the basic ones by adding various morphemes *somai* ‘time’, *ni* ‘auxiliary’, *pa* ‘adverbializer’ etc. as can be seen in the following example

(28) *haŋ-ni*

[haŋ ‘what’ + ni ‘AUX’]

‘Which’

(29) *haŋni-somai*

[haŋni ‘which’ + somai ‘time’]

‘When’

(30) *haŋ-pa*

[haŋ ‘what’ + pa ‘ADVLZ’/ ‘happen’]

‘Why’

#### 4.3.4. Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun in Toto is expressed on the nouns i.e., by suffixing -*raŋ* to the pronoun except in the case of plural reflexive pronouns such as ourselves, themselves etc. as can be seen in the following examples.

(31) *ka ka-raŋ*

I I-REFL

‘I myself’

(32) *ka-biya-raŋ*

1-PL-REFL

‘We ourselves’

(33) *nati nati-raŋ*

you you-REFL

‘You yourself’



(34) *aku aku-raŋ*  
 he he-REFL  
 ‘Himself’

(35) *aku-biya-raŋ*  
 3-PL-REFL  
 ‘Themselves’

#### 4.3.5. Indefinite pronouns

The class of pronoun refers to unknown or an unidentified person or thing. Following indefinite pronouns are found in Toto.

<i>haiziŋba</i>	‘anything’
<i>haŋsuziŋba</i>	‘anybody/anyone’
<i>thaŋ</i>	‘something’
<i>haŋsu</i>	‘someone’
<i>hatronziŋba</i>	‘anytime’

#### 4.3. Gender

Gender is not a universal feature in the structure of the languages of the world. Therefore Corbett (1991) rightly pointed out that in some languages gender is central and pervasive, while in others it is totally absent. Furthermore, modern linguistic theory distinguishes between languages having grammatical and natural gender, regarding the former as structural or formal phenomena, and the latter as semantic or content phenomena. Stanley (1977) explains the distinction between the two kinds of gender in

linguistics. Grammatical gender refers to the three main noun classes, as recognized in Greek and Latin, namely, "feminine", "neuter" and "masculine." Classification of nouns into three genders accounts for pronominal reference and adjectival concord. Theoretically, it is independent of sex. Natural gender, in contrast, "refers to the classification of nouns on the basis of biological sex, as female or male, or animate and inanimate (Stanley, 1977). It is worth mentioning here that most of the Tibeto-Burman languages lack grammatical gender, rather natural gender is certainly widespread in the family.

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages Gender in Toto has no role in showing grammatical relationship between the nouns and other categories in the sentences. In other words, Toto has no grammatical gender, it has only natural gender, i.e., all the male comes under the masculine and all the female comes under the feminine.

From the semanto-morphological point of view, the noun may be divided into human and non-human classes. The human nouns in Toto are morphologically marked for male and female. There are different markers for indicating male and female in case of non-human nouns. All the inanimate nouns are considered as neuter. Gender in Toto may be summarized in the following figure 3.

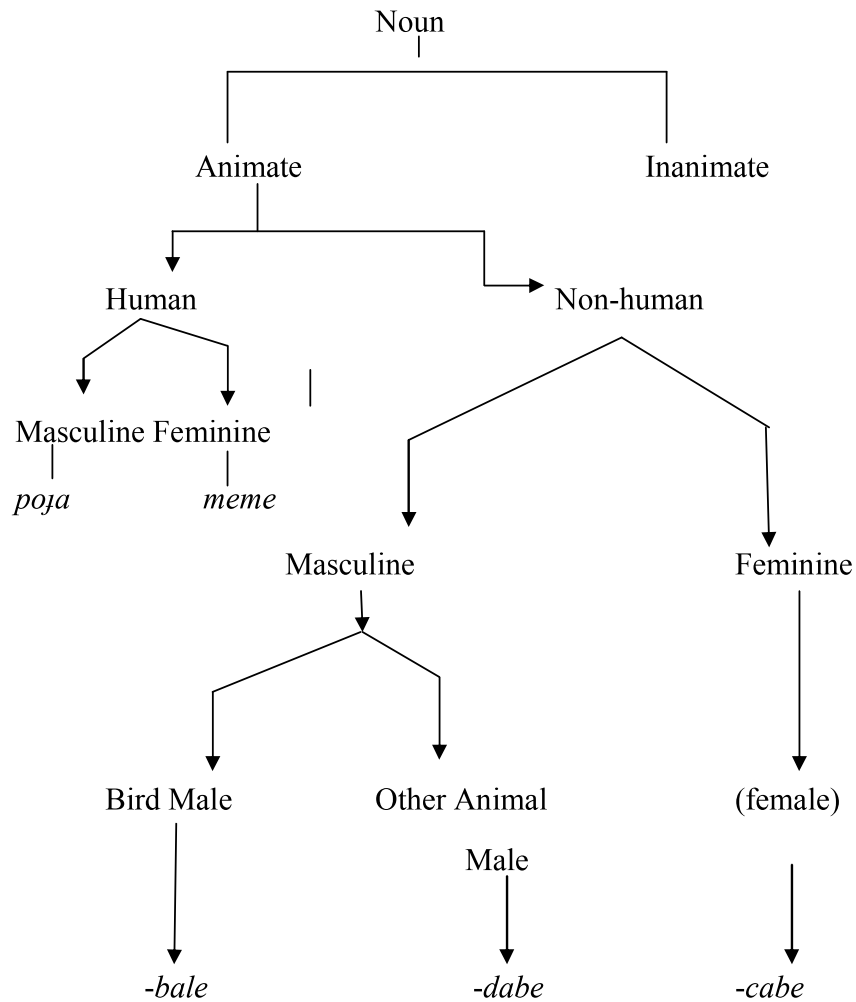


Figure -3 Gender in Toto

#### 4.3.1. Different strategies of determining gender

The different strategies of determining gender in Toto are described in the following sections.

##### 4.3.1.1. Human nouns

Basic kinship nouns in Toto have two separate distinct forms for each gender. Some of the nouns particularly kin nouns are made male and female distinction by using opposite lexical items. On the other hand, the suffixes -

*poja* and *-meme* are also used to indicate male and female as can be seen in the following examples.

<i>ata</i>	‘father’s father’	<i>aja</i>	‘father’s mother’
<i>wa</i>	‘husband’	<i>me</i>	‘wife’
<i>paja</i>	‘male’	<i>meme</i>	‘female’
<i>apa</i>	‘father’	<i>ayu</i>	‘mother’
<i>senza-poja</i>	‘God’	<i>senza-meme</i>	‘Goddess’
<i>baro-poja</i>	‘friend male’	<i>baro-meme</i>	‘friend female’

It is worth mentioning here that the markers *-poja* and *-meme* in Toto may be derived from the lexical items denoting ‘male’ and ‘female’ respectively.

#### 4.3.1.2. Gender marking of animal nouns

In case of animals, male and female are indicated by the prefixes *dabe-* and *cabe-* indicate male and female as illustrated below.

<i>dabe-kiya</i>	‘dog’	<i>cabe-kiya</i>	‘bitch’
<i>dabe-niŋki</i>	‘male cat’	<i>cabe-niŋki</i>	‘female cat’
<i>dabe-eŋa</i>	‘horse’	<i>cabe-eŋa</i>	‘mare’
<i>dabe-gibe</i>	‘stag’	<i>cabe-gibe</i>	‘hind’
<i>dabe-kuŋwa</i>	‘tiger’	<i>cabe-kuŋwa</i>	‘tigress’
<i>dabe-pika</i>	‘bull’	<i>cabe-pika</i>	‘cow’

#### 4.3.1.3. Gender marking of birds

In case of non-human animate nouns particularly bird, the male and female are expressed by using prefixes *bale-* and *cabe-* as illustrated below.

<i>bale-keka</i>	‘cock’	<i>cabe-keka</i>	‘hen’
<i>bale-haŋsa</i>	‘male duck’	<i>cabe-haŋsa</i>	‘female duck’

*bale-bokula* ‘male crane’ *cabe-bokula* ‘female crane’  
*bale-paroi* ‘male pigeon’ *cabe-paroi* ‘female pigeon’  
*bale-gurul* ‘male vulture’ *cabe-gurul* ‘female vulture’

#### 4.3.1.4. Gender marking of trees and plants

Plants and trees that bear fruits are considered as female in Toto. However, tree fails to bear fruits, is considered as male as can be seen below.

(36) *mewa* *dabe*  
 papaya male  
 ‘Male papaya’

(37) *yurpi* *dabe*  
 banana male  
 ‘Male banana’

(38) *guwai* *dabe*  
 betel-nut male  
 ‘Male betel-nut’

(39) *muri* *dabe*  
 chilli male  
 ‘Male chilly’

#### 4.3.1.5. Gender marking of agentive nouns

Agentive nouns in Toto can be marked for gender. The suffix *-poja* indicates male and *-meme* indicates female as exemplified below.

Masculine	Feminine
<i>yui-wa-poja</i>	<i>yui-wa-meme</i>
‘male dancer’	‘female dancer’
<i>klai-wa-poja</i>	<i>klai-wa-meme</i>
‘male player’	‘female player’
<i>zezeŋ-wa-poja</i>	<i>zezeŋ-wa-meme</i>
‘male lover’	‘female lover’
<i>tui-wa-poja</i>	<i>tu-wa-meme</i>
‘male runner’	‘female runner’

#### 4.3.1.6. Neuter

All the inanimate nouns are considered as neuter, which are morphologically unmarked as shown in the following examples.

<i>bida</i>	‘comb’
<i>aŋdu</i>	‘cloth’
<i>guli</i>	‘bullet’
<i>kolom</i>	‘pen’
<i>luintu</i>	‘stone’

#### 4.4. Number

In Toto, there are two numbers namely singular and plural. Only nouns show number distinctions, while the verbs and adjectives do not have different forms for different numbers. The singular forms of nouns are not marked by any marker i.e., singular nouns remain unmarked. Consider the following examples.

#### 4.4.1. Singular Noun

Singular	Gloss
<i>sa</i>	‘house’
<i>kiya</i>	‘dog’
<i>tari</i>	‘moon’
<i>apa</i>	‘father’
<i>naya</i>	‘bear
<i>daŋ</i>	‘horn’
<i>zaŋa</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>eŋa</i>	‘donkey’
<i>nanuŋ</i>	‘ear’
<i>kokoi</i>	‘leg’
<i>netoŋ</i>	‘neck’
<i>moəŋ</i>	‘paddy’
<i>lə</i>	‘needle’

#### 4.4.2. Pluralizing by suffixation

The plural in Toto is expressed by means of morphosyntactic processes e.g., suffixation, reduplication or plural words etc. The *-biya* ~ *-bi* is the most common plural marker used to pluralize nouns irrespective of their animacy i.e., for both animate and inanimate noun. Consider the following examples.

- (40) *kokoi-biya*  
leg-PL  
‘Legs’

- (41) *netoŋ-biya*  
neck-PL  
'Necks'
- (42) *sa-bi*  
house-PL  
'Houses'
- (43) *mico-bi*  
eye-PL  
'Eyes'
- (44) *kui-bi*  
hand-PL  
'Hands'
- (45) *ziya-bi*  
bird-PL  
'Birds'
- (46) *luintu-bi*  
rock-PL  
'Rocks'
- (47) *puriŋ-bi*  
hair-PL  
'Hairs'
- (48) *dase-biya*  
jackfruit-PL  
'Jackfruits'



It is worth to be mentioned here that the agentive nouns are also pluralized by the general plural suffix *-bi* as illustrated below.

(49) *tui-wa-poja-bi*

run-NMLZ-M-PL

‘Runners’

(50) *klai- wa-poja-bi*

play-NMLZ-M-PL

‘Players’

(51) *yoi-wa-poja-bi*

dance-NMLZ-M-PL

‘Dancers’

The demonstrative pronouns are pluralized by the general plural suffix *-biya* which is attached to the demonstrative root as illustrated below.

(52) *i -biya*

DEM-PL

‘These’

(53) *u-biya*

DEM-PL

‘Those’

Personal pronouns in Toto show three way distinctions in person and two way distinctions in number. As mentioned earlier, the first, second and third person singular forms are pluralized by suffixing the marker *-biya* which is

attached to first, second and third person pronouns as can be seen in the following examples.

(54) *ka -biya*  
I-PL  
'We'

(55) *nati-biya*  
you-PL  
'you (PL)'

(56) *aku -biya*  
he-PL  
'They'

#### **4.4.2.1. Plural word**

Majority of the languages of the world express plurality by means of plural words, which modify nouns. This is true in the case of Toto as plural words are used to express plurality in the language as described below.

##### **4. 4. 2.1.1. Numerals as plural word**

The nouns in Toto can be pluralized by using numerals. The nouns do not take plural marker when it co-occurs with a numeral more than one. Considering the following examples.

(57) *nico sa*  
two house  
'Two houses'

(58) *suŋco sene*  
  
three tree  
'Three trees'

(59) *dico higa*  
four book  
'Four books'

#### 4. 4. 2.1.2. Quantifiers as plural word

Like numerals, quantifiers play a major role to pluralize the nouns regardless of count and mass nouns. A noun can be inflected for plural by modifying it with a quantifier. The quantifier follows the noun as discussed below.

(60) *isese ti*  
some water  
'Some water'

(61) *uise ziya*  
many bird  
'Many birds'

(62) *iseso sa*  
few house  
'Few houses'

#### 4. 4. 2.1.3. Pluralizing by Reduplication

Pluralisation in Toto can be formed by means of reduplicating nouns and interrogatives.

#### 4.4.2.1.4. Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication of nouns in Toto denotes plurality as can be seen in (63-65).

- (63) *sa sa*  
house house  
‘Several houses’

- (64) *cun̄ca cun̄ca*  
jungle jungle  
‘Several jungles’

- (65) *loi loi*  
village village  
‘Several villages’

#### 4.4.2.1.5. Reduplication of interrogative pronouns

Like nouns, reduplication of interrogatives in Toto also denotes plurality as in (66-68).

- (66) *haŋ haŋ*  
what what  
‘What all?’

(67) *hasu hasu*  
who who  
'Who all?'

(68) *haŋta haŋta*  
where where  
'Which places?'

#### **4.5. Numerals**

Numeral system in Toto is mainly of the decimal type. Vegisimal system is also prevalent in the numeral system of the language. Majority of the numeral roots in the language are mono-morphemic. Bi-morphemic numerals in the language are numeral root plus suffixes for instance, *i-co* 'one', *ni-co* 'two' *ŋa-co* 'five', *tu-co* 'six' etc. Compounding is the productive morphological process to form the higher numerals. Numerals in Toto are primarily classified into five types.

- (1) Cardinal Numerals
- (2) Ordinal Numerals
- (3) Multiplicative Numerals
- (4) Fractional Numerals
- (5) Distributive numerals.

##### **4.5.1 Cardinal Numerals**

Structurally, cardinal numerals can be sub-classified into the following types: (i) basic numerals (ii) Compound numerals.

#### 4.5.1.1 Basic Numerals

The Basic numerals from one to ten in Toto are bound roots which always take numeral formative suffix or predicative suffix in the form of *-co*. Basic numerals are the ones denoting numbers from one to ten. These are.

<i>ico</i>	‘one’
<i>nico</i>	‘two’
<i>suŋco</i>	‘three’
<i>dico</i>	‘four’
<i>ŋaco</i>	‘five’
<i>tuco</i>	‘six’
<i>nisco</i>	‘seven’
<i>lico</i>	‘eight’
<i>kuco</i>	‘nine’
<i>taco</i>	‘ten’

It is worth mentioning here that one to ten are bimorphemic, numeral in Toto. It is also observed that numeral roots like *ni* ‘two’ and *ŋa* ‘five’ *li* ‘eight’ seems to be Proto- Tibeto-Burman numerals as *\*nyi*, *\*ŋa*, *\*li*, respectively (Benedict 1972, Matisoff 2003). PTB numerals *\*g-ni-s*, *\*g-sum* and *\*b-liy* as reconstructed by Matisoff (1997:119).

#### 4.5.1.2. Compound cardinal numerals

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the compound cardinal numerals are large in number and they are very productive to form higher numerals as mentioned earlier. Morphosyntactically compound cardinal numerals may be classified into the following categories: i) Additive compound numerals ii)

Multiplicative compound numerals, iii) Multiplicative cum additive compound numerals.

#### 4.5.1.2.1. Additive compound numerals

In Toto, the numerals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ (11-19) are additive compound numerals. They are formed by the addition of decade *ru* ‘10’ with the basic cardinal numerals from one to nine as demonstrated in the following examples:

*taco ico*      ‘eleven’

[10 + 1 = 11]

*taco-nico*      ‘twelve’

[10 + 2 = 12]

*taco-suŋco*      ‘thirteen’

[10 + 3 = 13]

*taco-dico*      ‘fourteen’

[10 + 4 = 14]

*taco-ŋaco*      ‘fifteen’

[10 + 5 = 15]

*taco-tuco*      ‘sixteen’

[10 + 6 = 16]

*taco-nisco*      ‘seventeen’

[10 + 7 = 17]

*taco-lico*      ‘eighteen’

[10 + 8 = 18]

*taco-kuco* ‘nineteen’

[10+ 9 = 19]

As mentioned earlier that Toto has vegisimal numeral *kai~ikai* ‘20’ as a few number of Tibeto-Burman languages of North East India do namely Manipuri (Yashawanta, 2000), Dimasa (Dhiren, 2013) etc. The presence of vegisimal numeral *kai* ‘20’ is one of the typical features of Toto language in the Tibeto-Burman language family. The vegisimal root always take numeral formative suffix *-co* to form the numerals 20-29 as summarized in the following examples.

Value	Numerals	Gloss
20	<i>kai~ikai</i>	‘twenty’

Table10 Vegisimal Numeral

*ikaico-ico* ‘twenty one’

[20 + 1 = 21]

*ikaico-nico* ‘twenty two’

[20 + 2 = 22]

*ikaico-sunco* ‘twenty three’

[20 + 3 = 23]

*ikaico-dico* ‘twenty four’

[20 + 4 = 24]

*ikaico-ηaco* ‘twenty five’

[20 + 5 = 25]



*ikaico-tuco* 'twenty six'

[20 + 6 = 26]

*ikaico-nisco* 'twenty seven'

[20 + 7 = 27]

*ikaico-lico* 'twenty eight'

[20 + 8 = 28]

*ikaico-kuco* 'twenty nine'

[20 + 9 = 29]

The additive compound numeral *ikaico taco* 30/thirty is formed through the addition of vigesimal numeral 20/twenty followed by the numeral formative suffix -co to decade *taco* 'ten'. The formation of numerals 30-39 are summarized in the following examples.

Value	Numeral	Gloss
30	<i>ikaico taco</i>	'thirty'

Table 11: Numeral 30

*ikaico taco ico* 'thirty one'

[20 + 10 + 1 = 31]

*ikaico taco nico* 'thirty two'

[20 + 10 + 2 = 32]

*ikaico taco suŋco* 'thirty three'

[20 + 10 + 3 = 33]

*ikaico taco dico* 'thirty four'

[20 + 10 + 4 = 34]

*ikaico taco ηaco*      ‘thirty five’

[20 + 10 + 5 = 35]

*ikaico taco tuco*      ‘thirty six’

[20 + 10 + 6 = 36]

*ikaico taco nisco*      ‘thirty seven’

[20 + 10 + 7 = 37]

*ikaico taco lico*      ‘thirty eight’

[20 + 10 + 8 = 38]

*ikaico taco kuco*      ‘thirty nine’

[20 + 10 + 9 = 39]

#### **4.5.1.2.2. Multiplicative compound numerals**

The multiplicative compound numeral 40/forty, 60/sixty, 80/eighty, and 100/hundred are formed through the multiplication of basic numeral roots 2/two, 3/three, 4/four, and 5/five to vegisimal *kai* ‘twenty’. The formation of numerals 40,60,80 and 100 are summarized in the following examples.

*ni kai*      ‘forty’

[2 x 20 = 40]

*suη kai*      ‘sixty’

[3 x 20 = 60]

*di kai*      ‘eighty’

[4 x 20 = 80]

*ηa kai*      ‘hundred’

[5 x 20 = 100]

#### 4.5.1.2.3. Multiplication cum addition compound numerals

Toto numerals from 50/fifty, 70/seventy and 90/ninety are formed through the multiplication of first two numerals followed by the numeral formative suffix *-co* and the summation of the of the decade 10/ten.

*ni kaico taco* 'fifty'

$$[2 \times 20 + 10 = 50]$$

*sun kaico taco* 'seventy'

$$[3 \times 20 + 10 = 70]$$

*di kaico taco* 'ninety'

$$[4 \times 20 + 10 = 90]$$

The numerals from 41-49, 51-59, 61-69, 71-79, 81-89, 91-99 are summarized in the following :

*ni kaico ico* 'forty one'

$$[2 \times 20 + 1 = 41]$$

*ni kaico taco nico* 'fifty two'

$$[2 \times 20 + 10 + 2 = 52]$$

*sun kaico nico* 'sixty three'

$$[3 \times 20 + 3 = 63]$$

*sun kaico dico* 'sixty four'

$$[3 \times 20 + 4 = 64]$$

*sun kaico taco ηaco* 'seventy five'

$$[3 \times 20 + 10 + 5 = 75]$$

*sun kaico taco tuco* 'seventy six'

$$[3 \times 20 + 10 + 6 = 76]$$

*di kaico nisco* 'eighty seven'

$$[4 \times 20 + 7 = 87]$$

*di kaico lico* 'eighty eight'

$$[4 \times 20 + 8 = 88]$$

*di kaico taco kuco* 'ninety nine'

$$[4 \times 20 + 10 + 9 = 99]$$

#### 4.5.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinals in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India are derived from the cardinal numerals by means of affixation i.e., mostly by suffixing a morpheme to the corresponding cardinal numerals. The ordinal in Toto are also formed by adding the morpheme *-wəŋna* to the cardinal numerals as in the following examples.

*ico-wəŋna* 'first'

*nico-wəŋna* 'second'

*suŋco-wəŋna* 'third'

*dico-wəŋna* 'fourth'

*kuco-wəŋna* 'ninth'

*taco-wəŋna* 'tenth'

#### 4.5.3. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed by prefixing the morpheme *ti-* 'repeat' to the corresponding cardinal numerals.

*ico-ti* 'once'

*nico-ti* 'twice'

*suŋco-ti* 'thrice'

<i>dico-ti</i>	‘four times’
<i>ku-ti</i>	‘nine times’
<i>taco-ti</i>	‘ten times’
<i>ikai-ti</i>	‘twenty times’

#### 4.5.4. Fractional Numerals

There is a fractional numeral in Toto viz. *ipo* meaning ‘half’. Other than this, the fractional numerals are expressed in the following ways.

<i>ico</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ipo</i>	‘1 and 1/2’
one	and	half	
<i>nico</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ipo</i>	‘2 and 1/2’
two	and	half	
<i>suŋco</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ipo</i>	‘3 and 1/2’
three	and	half	

#### 4.5.5. Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals in Toto are formed by reduplicating the cardinal numerals as can be seen in the following examples.

<i>ico ico</i>	‘one by one’
<i>nico nico</i>	‘two each’
<i>suŋco suŋco</i>	‘three each’
<i>dico dico</i>	‘four each’
<i>ŋaco ŋaco</i>	‘five each’
<i>tuco tuco</i>	‘six each’
<i>nisco nisco</i>	‘seven each’
<i>lico lico</i>	‘eight each’

<i>kuco kuco</i>	‘nine each’
<i>taco taco</i>	‘ten each’
<i>ikaai ikai</i>	‘twenty each’

It is very interesting to note that the above cardinal numeral system is only applicable with human or things related to human society. It is worth to mentioned here that when animals, birds, fish are referred then another numeral formative suffix i.e., *-pu* is used with the basic cardinal roots. Considering the following examples.

<i>ipu</i>	‘one’
<i>nipu</i>	‘two’
<i>sunpu</i>	‘three’
<i>dipu</i>	‘four’
<i>ηapu</i>	‘five’
<i>tupu</i>	‘six’
<i>nispu</i>	‘seven
<i>lipu</i>	‘eight’
<i>kupu</i>	‘nine’
<i>tapu</i>	‘ten’

Another numeral formative suffix is *-teη* which is used when tree and plant is referred consider the following examples.

<i>iteη</i>	‘one’
<i>niteη</i>	‘two’
<i>sunteη</i>	‘three’
<i>diteη</i>	‘four’
<i>ηateη</i>	‘five’

<i>tuteŋ</i>	‘six’
<i>nisteŋ</i>	‘seven
<i>liteŋ</i>	‘eight’
<i>kuteŋ</i>	‘nine’
<i>tateŋ</i>	‘ten’

In case of fruits and vegetable suffix *-ce* is used with cardinal numerals root as discussed in the following examples.

<i>ice</i>	‘one’
<i>nice</i>	‘two’
<i>kuce</i>	‘nine’
<i>tace</i>	‘ten’

Furthermore, when stone is referred suffix *-rum* is used with cardinal numerals root as discussed in the following examples.

<i>irum</i>	‘one’
<i>nirum</i>	‘two’
<i>kurum</i>	‘nine’
<i>tarum</i>	‘ten’

It is important to note that this kind of numeral system is not noticed in any other Tibeto-Burman languages of India and it is very strictly and systematically used in Toto language. It is one of the typical features of Toto language.

#### 4.6. Case

As many other Tibeto-Burman languages, case relations in Toto are expressed by means of postpositions. Case relation in Toto is expressed by postposing the case markers to the nouns or pronouns. Case is considered to be a morphosyntactic category specially an inflectional one, of nouns or pronouns, which typically marks their role in relation to other parts of sentence. Generally, case markers are not marked for the number, and gender of nouns. Structurally, Toto has seven types of cases as illustrated below.

Nominative case	- $\emptyset$
Accusative case	- <i>hiŋ</i>
Dative Case	- <i>hiŋ</i>
Locative case	- <i>ta</i>
Genitive case	- <i>ko</i>
Instrumental case	- <i>so</i>
Ablative case	- <i>so</i>
Comitative Case	- <i>yopa</i>

##### 4.7.1. Nominative case

Nominative case is the case of subject (noun and Pronoun). It is morphologically unmarked in Toto. The subjects of both the transitive and intransitive clauses are marked by zero case marking.

- (69) *aku- $\emptyset$*         *leŋ-na*  
      *she- $\emptyset$*         smile-PST  
      ‘She smiled’



- (70) *aku-ø zeya sa-na*  
 he-ø bird run-PST  
 ‘He killed the bird’
- (71) *Abijan-ø nati-hiŋ tiŋ-na*  
 Abijan-ø you-ACC see-PST  
 ‘Abijan saw you.’
- (72) *Haron-ø aku-hiŋ ico kolom pe-na*  
 Haron-ø her-ACC one pen give-PAST  
 ‘Haron gave her a pen.’

#### 4.6.2. Accusative case

Accusative case is marked by the marker *-hiŋ* to the direct object of a sentence. It is used for patients of transitive verbs.

- (73) *ka-biya akubiya-hiŋ nai-mi*  
 I-PL them-ACC know-PRES  
 ‘We know them’
- (74) *aku-ø ziya sa-na*  
 he-ø bird kill-PST  
 ‘He killed the bird’
- (75) *aku-ø nati-hiŋ tiŋ-na*  
 he-ø you-ACC see-PST  
 ‘He saw you.’
- (76) *ka sa-hiŋ zezeŋ-mi*  
 I house-ACC like-PRES  
 ‘I like the house.’

#### 4.6.3. Dative Case

The basic role of dative case is to distinguish the recipient of something given transferred etc (Matthews 1997:85). The dative case in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-hiŋ* as illustrated in the following examples.

- (77) *yawa-hiŋ      əma   pi-ko*  
bagger-DAT   rice   give-IMP  
‘Give rice to bagger’
- (78) *aku-ø           ka-hiŋ           gari coi-na*  
he-ø           I-DAT   car buy-PST  
‘He bought a car for me’
- (79) *Bahadur      Bipul-hiŋ      poisa pi-na*  
Bahadur      Bipul-DAT   money give-PST  
‘Bahadur gave money to Bipul’
- (80) *aku           ka-hiŋ           yuti   pa-na*  
he           I-DAT   milk   bring-PST  
‘He brings milk for me’

#### 4.6.4. Genitive Case

This case indicates the possessive relationship of the noun or pronoun. In other words, it reflects a possessor-possessed relationship of a particular object with another object. The possessive case in Toto is expressed by a suffix *-ko* considering the following examples.

- (81) *i      Ram-ko      sa      nina*  
DEM   Ram-GEN   house-AUX  
‘This is Ram’s house’

(82) *Rajen-ko sa*  
 Rajen-GEN house  
 ‘Rajen’s house’

(83) *aku-ko asu*  
 he-GEN aunt  
 ‘His aunt’

(84) *aku-ko əpa*  
 her-GEN father  
 ‘Her father’

#### 4.6.5. Instrumental case

The instrumental case indicates the object by which the action is performed.

In Toto the instrumental case is marked by the suffix *-so*.

(85) *ka toce-so kampaŋ-mi*  
 I spade-INST work-PRES  
 ‘I work by spade’

(86) *Rajen nouka-so ha-na*  
 Rajen boat-INST go-PST  
 ‘Rajen went by boat’

(87) *Mira tobla-so klai-mi*  
 Mira tobla-INST play-PRES  
 ‘Mira plays with tobla’

(88) *Tom ziya-hiŋ dui-so yapa-na*  
 Tom bird-ACC stick-INST beat-PST  
 ‘Tom has beaten bird with a stick’

#### 4.6.6. Locative case

In Toto, the locative suffix is to indicate the location of an object or event. The locative case is expressed by the suffix *-ta* as exemplified in the following examples.

- (89) *Bahadur Jalpaiguri-ta iuŋ-mi*  
Bahadur Jalpaiguri-LOC live-PRES  
‘Bahadur lives at Jalpaiguri’

- (90) *hati-bi cumca-ta iuŋ-mi*  
elephant-PL forest-LOC live-PRES  
‘Elephants live in the forest’

- (91) *Sonali iskul-ta ha-daŋ-mi*  
Sonali school-LOC go-PROG-PRES  
‘Sonali is going to the school’

- (92) *Dhoniram Jalpaiguri-ta ha-ro*  
Dhoniram Jalpaiguri-LOC go-FUT  
‘Dhoniram will go to Jalpaiguri’

#### 4.6.7. Ablative case

The ablative case is the case that indicates the source i.e., ‘from’ or ‘out of’ of an action. It is expressed by the marker *-so*.

- (93) *ka Jalpaiguri-so waŋ-na*  
I Jalpaiguri-ABL come-PST  
‘I came from Jalpaiguri’

(94) *Bahadur      Kolkata-so      hopdeŋle-na*

Bahadur      Kolkata-ABL      return-PST

‘Bahadur returned from Kolkata’

(95) *kabiya      ɟoro-so      ti      dei-mi*

we      river-ABL      water      get-PRES

‘We get water from the river’

(96) *poɟa      hati-so      hadaŋ-na*

boy      market-ABL      return-PST

‘The boy came from the market’

#### 4.6.8. Comitative Case

It indicates the person or object associated with the subject in the performance of the action. The comitative case in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-yopa*

(97) *haŋsu      Ram-yopa      ha-ga*

who      1-COM      go-QM

‘Who will go with Ram?’

(98) *John      ka-yopa      waŋ-na*

John      1-COM      come-PST

‘John came with me’

(99) *aku      ka-yopa      iuŋ-mi*

she      1-COM      live-PRES

‘She lives with me’

- (100) *Rani kuŋ pise-yopa ha-na*  
 Rani my aunt-COM go-PST  
 ‘Rani went with my aunt’

#### 4.7. Postpositions

Like many other SOV languages, the adposition in Toto is postposition. Toto has the following postpositions that occur after the NP, before the case-marking suffix.

##### 4.7.1. The postposition *toi* ‘on ,above’

The postposition *ru* ‘above’ postposed the noun and it can be followed by case markers.

- (101) *sene-ko toi-ta ziya nina*  
 tree -LOC above-LOC bird AUX  
 ‘The bird is on the tree’

- (102) *akubiya turui-bi toi-ta zora waŋ-na*  
 3-PL knee-PL above-LOC river come-PST  
 ‘They crossed the river by their knees’

##### 4.7.2. The postposition *nunui* ‘behind’

The postposition *nunui* ‘behind’ postposed the noun and it can be followed by the locative suffix *-ta* as can be stated in the following examples.

- (103) *Ram nunui-ta Rajen*  
 Ram behind-LOC Rajen  
 ‘Ram is behind Rajen’

- (104) *nati-ko          nunui-ta          dija Toto*  
                  you-GEN          behind-LOC          man Toto  
                  ‘The man behind you is Toto’

#### 4.7.3. The postposition *naŋbo* ‘inside’

The postposition *naŋbo* ‘inside’ is also postposed to the noun basically followed by locative case markers as evident from the following examples.

- (105) *ka          higa          naŋbo-ta          nəsə          e-na*  
                  I          book          inside-LOC          money          keep-PST  
                  ‘I kept money inside the book’

- (106) *Mohan          sa-ko          naŋbo-ta          waŋ-na*  
                  Mohan          house-GEN          inside-ABL          come-PST  
                  ‘Mohan came out of the house’

#### 4.7.4. The postposition *abe* ‘near’

The postposition *abe* ‘near’ postposed to the noun followed by case marker as can be seen in the following examples.

- (107) *kuŋ          sa          iskul          abe-ta          nina*  
                  my          house          school          near-LOC          AUX  
                  ‘My house is near the school’

- (108) *ka sene-ko          abe-ta          ni-na*  
                  I tree-GEN          near-LOC          AUX-PST  
                  ‘I was near the tree’

#### 4.7.5. The postposition *coko* ‘upto’

The postposition *coko* ‘upto, till’ postposed to the noun and it is not followed by any other suffixes.

(109) *hebkoŋ        koko   porai-ko*  
morning        upto   read-IMP  
‘Read upto morning’

(110) *kuŋ    sa-so        koko   waŋ-ko*  
My   house        upto   come-IMP  
‘Come up to my house!’

#### 4.8. Adjectives

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto does not have distinct category of adjective i.e. . they are derived form the verbs particularly the stative verbs as many Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia do. Adjectives in Toto are formed by suffixing nominalizer *-wa* to the stative verb bases. In other words, nominalized form of stative verbs are using as adjectives in the language as found in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia do.

##### 4.8.1. Deverbal adjective

The deverbal adjectives modify a noun, it occurs with the same nominalizer *-wa* as verb or verb phrase do as illustrated in the following.

Suffix	Stative verb	Gloss	Derived adjectives	Gloss
<i>-wa</i>	<i>tei</i>	‘be greed’	<i>tei-wa</i>	‘greedy’
	<i>mosoŋ</i>	‘be bad’	<i>mosoŋ-wa</i>	‘bad’
	<i>tebo</i>	‘be big’	<i>tebo-wa</i>	‘big’
	<i>mucuŋ</i>	‘be brave’	<i>mucuŋ-wa</i>	‘brave’
	<i>mudu</i>	‘be blunt’	<i>mudu-wa</i>	‘blunt’
	<i>udaŋti</i>	‘be deep’	<i>udaŋti-wa</i>	‘deep’



	<i>du</i>	‘be curve’	<i>du-wa</i>	‘curve’
	<i>si</i>	‘be dead’	<i>si-wa</i>	‘dead’
	<i>seŋ</i>	‘be dry’	<i>seŋ-wa</i>	‘dry’
	<i>moto</i>	‘be empty’	<i>moto-wa</i>	‘empty’
	<i>čam</i>	‘be equal’	<i>čam-mai</i>	‘equal’
	<i>pəita</i>	‘be flat’	<i>pəita-wa</i>	‘flat’
	<i>e</i>	‘be fresh’	<i>e-wa</i>	‘fresh’
	<i>taŋsa</i>	‘be full’	<i>taŋsa-wa</i>	‘full’
	<i>eŋta</i>	‘be good’	<i>eŋta-wa</i>	‘good’
	<i>toita</i>	‘be high’	<i>toita-wa</i>	‘high’
	<i>locu</i>	‘be hot’	<i>locu-wa</i>	‘hot’
	<i>eŋta</i>	‘be kind’	<i>eŋta-wa</i>	‘kind’
	<i>doŋ</i>	‘be miser’	<i>doŋ-wa</i>	‘miser’
	<i>mege</i>	‘be narrow’	<i>mege-wa</i>	‘narrow’
	<i>kole</i>	‘be open’	<i>kole-wa</i>	‘open’
	<i>miŋ</i>	‘be ripe’	<i>miŋ-wa</i>	‘ripe’
	<i>cuka</i>	‘be slow’	<i>cuku-wa</i>	‘slow’
	<i>sida</i>	‘be sober’	<i>sida-wa</i>	‘sober’
	<i>sadiŋ</i>	‘be strong’	<i>sadiŋ-wa</i>	‘strong’
	<i>koto</i>	‘be thin’	<i>koto-wa</i>	‘thin’
	<i>mosoŋ</i>	‘be ugly’	<i>mosoŋ-wa</i>	‘ugly’
	<i>koto</i>	‘be weak’	<i>koto-wa</i>	‘weak’
	<i>luro</i>	‘be wet’	<i>luro-wa</i>	‘wet’
	<i>nop</i>	‘be wicked’	<i>nop-wa</i>	‘wicked’
	<i>ge</i>	‘be wise’	<i>ge-wa</i>	‘wise’

Table 12: Deverbal Adjective

#### 4.8.2. Compound adjectives

Toto has few examples of compound adjectives which may be also found in some other Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia.

(111) *eke-lo*

[eke ‘same’ + lo ‘together’]

‘Same-aged, contemporary’ (lit. body together)’

(112) *kui-motona*

[kui ‘hand’ + motona ‘be empty’]

‘Bankrupt (lit. empty hand)

(113) *leŋwa-teziŋ*

[leŋna ‘laugh’ + teziŋ ‘tasty’]

‘Funny’ (lit. tasty laugh)

(114) *eŋtawa-tuŋsiŋ*

[eŋtawa ‘good’ + tuŋsiŋ ‘heart’]

‘Kind’ (lit. good heart)

#### 4.8.3. Semantic types

Dixon (1982) rightly pointed out that on the basis of semantic properties, adjectives can be categorized into various fields such as, dimension, human propensity, colour, age, value etc. It can be done in the case of Toto as well; the basic adjectives in the language can be further categorized into following in terms of their semantic properties as given below.

### Dimension

<i>paitawa</i>	‘flat’
<i>bucuiwa</i>	‘fat’
<i>dalaiwa</i>	‘long’
<i>tebo</i>	‘wide’
<i>megewa</i>	‘narrow’

### Physical property

Adjective denoting physical property is larger than any other group, and includes several antonym pairs.

<i>diliŋwa</i>	‘heavy’
<i>l̥ərəwa</i>	‘light’
<i>geŋwa</i>	‘straight’
<i>duwa</i>	‘sharp’
<i>tewa</i>	‘sweet’
<i>gewa</i>	‘clever’
<i>luro</i>	‘wet’

### Colour

<i>youyouwa</i>	‘yellow’
<i>haŋpowa</i>	‘white’
<i>əluwa</i>	‘red’
<i>yeoniwa</i>	‘blue’
<i>yoniwa</i>	‘green’

### Age

<i>cube</i>	‘new’	-
<i>jabe</i>	‘old’	

**Value**

<i>popu</i>	‘rich’	
<i>eŋtawa</i>	‘good’	
<i>ɟoroŋwa</i>	‘poor’	
<i>mosaŋwa</i>	‘ugly’	-
<i>zezeŋwa</i>	‘beautiful’	

**Speed**

<i>sukapa</i>	‘slow’	-
<i>senepa</i>	‘fast’	

**Human propensity**

<i>leŋba</i>	‘mad’	
<i>taŋsipu</i>	‘sober’	
<i>gewa</i>	‘clever’	
<i>zezeŋkowa</i>	‘beautiful’	
<i>koborsuluk</i>	‘half-crack’	

**Quantification**

<i>isese</i>	‘few’	
<i>huse</i>	‘many’	

**Position**

<i>abe</i>	‘near’	
<i>toita</i>	‘high’	-
<i>adaŋcuwa</i>	‘low’	

### Difficult

<i>sadiŋ</i>	‘difficult’
<i>tesai</i>	‘easy’
<i>taŋsipu</i>	‘simple’

### Taste

<i>teiwa</i>	‘pungent’
<i>tatawa</i>	‘sweet’
<i>kawa</i>	‘bitter’
<i>tewa</i>	‘sour’

#### 4.8.4. Comparative construction

Toto also make use of comparative. However, the comparative construction in Toto can be formed by the marker of comparison *uiseso* similar to English ‘than’. However, the comparative marker *-koi* is also used optionally along with the marker of comparison to form the comparative constructions in Toto.

- (115) *Bahadur Bipul      uiseso      uidaŋ-koi-mi*  
Bahadur Bipul      than      be.tall COMP-PRES  
‘Bahadur is taller than Bipul’

- (116) *Silchar      Jalpaiguri      uiseso      etecu-koi-mi*  
Silchar      Jalpaiguri      than      be.small-COMP-PRES  
‘Silchar is smaller than Jalpaiguri’

#### 4.8.5. Superlatives

The superlative degree is used when something is compared with the rest of the things of the same kind. It is formed in Toto by adding suffix *-koina* to the verb root as exemplified below.

- (117) *aku sa-ta haṅsuroma koto-koina-mi*  
he house-LOC among be. weak-SUPER-PRES  
'He is the weakest in the house'

- (118) *aku aṇdu eṇta-koina coi-mi*  
he shirt be. good-SUPER buy-PRES  
'He buys the best cloth'

#### 4.9. Verbs

Generally verbs are those forms which can take or are capable of taking tense, aspect, mood, causative markers etc. Likewise in Toto, verbs can be defined as roots that can take the morphemes for aspects, moods, causative, negative etc.

##### 4.9. 1. Structural classification of verbs

###### 4.9.1.1. Simple verbs

Simple verbs in Toto are those verbs which are treated as monomorphemic words. Structurally, simple verbs may be composed of monosyllabic or disyllabic words. It is interesting to note that the monosyllabic verbs are very common in Toto as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do. Some of the monosyllabic verbs are shown in the following examples.

#### 4.9.1.1.1. Monosyllabic roots

##### Open monosyllabic roots

<i>jo</i>	‘to do’
<i>e</i>	‘to put’
<i>pi</i>	‘give’
<i>mui</i>	‘to blow’
<i>klai</i>	‘to play’

##### Closed monosyllabic roots

<i>maŋ</i>	‘to bite’
<i>cuŋ</i>	‘to catch’
<i>tiŋ</i>	‘to see’
<i>waŋ</i>	‘to come’
<i>tuŋ</i>	‘cover’

#### 4.9.1.1.2. Disyllabic roots

##### Open disyllabic roots

<i>paso</i>	‘to set’
<i>japa</i>	‘to shake’
<i>toti</i>	‘to spit’
<i>badoi</i>	‘to throw’

##### Closed disyllabic roots

<i>sadiŋ</i>	‘to tighten’
<i>meron</i>	‘to wrap up’
<i>toruŋ</i>	‘to grind’
<i>pijaŋ</i>	‘to nurse’

*tukun* 'to knock'

#### 4.9.1.2. Compound verbs

Structurally, compound stem in Toto consists of i) verb + verb and ii) noun + verb.

##### **Verb root + verb root**

The following instances of compound verb contain two verb roots where the V1 is the head of the compound.

(119) *hiŋ-pawa*

[hiŋ 'know' + pawa 'hear']

'Inform' (lit. to Know and hear)

(120) *aŋi-pa*

[aŋi 'be true' + pa 'bring']

'Believe'

(121) *am-sa*

[am 'shoot' + sa 'beat']

'Kill by shooting'

(122) *tun-ciŋ*

[tun 'be black' + ciŋ 'receive']

'Cheat'

##### **Noun + verb root**

(123) *nabe-kai*

[nabe 'nose' + kai 'call']



‘Snore’

(124) *bekoŋ-lu*

[bekoŋ ‘skin’ + lu ‘change’]

‘to slough’ (lit. changing skin)

(125) *zam-pal*

[zam ‘iron’ + pal ‘throw’]

‘Spear’ (lit. Iron throw)

#### **4.9.2. Classes of verbs**

Toto has two classes of verbs: (i) transitive and (ii) intransitive. The verbs in Toto are not morphologically marked as many other Tibeto-Burman languages of the region do. There is no morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, however transitive and intransitive distinction in Toto verbs are made on the basis of semantico-syntactic aspect as described in the following sections.

##### **4.9.2.1 Transitive verbs**

Transitive verbs in Toto can take an object argument. Transitive verbs can be further classified into two types: mono-transitive and ditransitive.

###### **4.9.2.1.1. Mono-transitive**

Mono-transitive verbs are verbs that take two arguments viz. agent and patients. Some of the monotransitive verbs in Toto are shown below.

- (126) *Rajen Pinky-hiŋ zezeŋ-mi*  
 Rajen Pinky-ACC love-PRES  
 ‘Rajen loves Pinky.’

- (127) *Roshni ti aŋ-mi*  
 Roshni water drink-PRES  
 ‘Roshni drinks water’.

#### 4.9.2.1.2. Ditransitive verbs

Like many other languages in the world, Toto has ditransitive verbs that take three arguments: Donor, Gift and Recipient (Dixon, 1991). The usual order of these arguments in Toto is: Donor>Recipient>Gift. Some of the ditransitive verbs in the language are shown below with examples.

- (128) *Rita ka-hiŋ ico iga pi-mi*  
 Rita I-DAT one book give-PRES  
 ‘Rita gives me a book.’

- (129) *Riya nati-hiŋ nəsa ŋaco pi-na*  
 Riya he-DAT rupee five give-PST  
 ‘Riya gave him five rupees.’

#### 4.9.2.2. Intransitive verbs

In contrast to transitive verbs, intransitive verbs in Toto are verbs that do not take object arguments. Intransitive verbs may be either action or stative verbs. Some of the intransitive verbs in the language are shown below with examples.

- (130) *ape kai-mi*  
 baby cry-PRES  
 ‘The baby cries.’

(131) *ziya le-mi*  
 bird sing-PRES  
 ‘The bird sings.’

(132) *diŋa si-pu-na*  
 man die-PRF-PST  
 ‘The man died.’

#### 4.9.3. Semantic classification of verbs

Semantically, verbs in Toto can also be classified into three categories namely (i) action verb (ii) stative verb and (iii) process verb.

##### 4.9.3. 1. Action verbs

*pi* ‘give’  
*ca* ‘eat’  
*waŋ* ‘come’  
*bui* ‘fly’  
*ha* ‘go’  
*aŋ* ‘drink’  
*cuiŋ* ‘catch’  
*porai* ‘read’  
*se* ‘kill’  
*ziŋ* ‘sleep’

##### 4.9.3.2. Stative verbs

*du* ‘be curve’  
*seŋ* ‘be dry’  
*lok* ‘be big’  
*təŋsa* ‘be full’

<i>səi</i>	‘be long’
<i>diliŋ</i>	‘be heavy’
<i>lara</i>	‘be light’
<i>doŋ</i>	‘be miser’
<i>cuka</i>	‘be slow’
<i>dalai</i>	‘be long’

#### 4.9.3.3. Process verbs

<i>mui</i>	‘be blow’
<i>miŋ</i>	‘be ripe’
<i>pura</i>	‘be flow’
<i>oŋ</i>	‘be boil’
<i>meilei</i>	‘be cook’

#### 4.9.4. Auxiliary

The only auxiliary in the language is *ni* for ‘has/have’ verb in the language. This is mostly used in the existential and possessive construction in the language as shown in following examples.

- (133) *cun̄ca-ta*      *ipu*    *ziya*                      *ni-mi*  
jungle-LOC    one    bird                      AUX-PRES  
‘There is a bird in the forest’

- (134) *ti-ta*                      *naiya iuŋ*    *ni-mi*  
water -LOC    fish live                      AUX-PRES  
‘Fish lives in water’

(135) *kuj ico iga ni-na*  
 my one book AUX-PST  
 ‘I had a book’

(136) *Kochbihar-ta ico zaipu ni-na*  
 Kochbihar-LOC one king AUX-PST  
 ‘There was a king in Kochbihar’

#### 4.9.5. Tense

Tense indicates the time of action mentioned by the verb with reference to the time of speech act. There are three tenses in Toto which indicates present, past and future. All the tenses are marked morphologically by different markers.

##### 4.9.5.1. Present tense

The present tense in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-mi* as illustrated below.

(137) *Nitu iskul-ta ha-mi*  
 Nitu school-LOC go-PRES  
 ‘Nitu goes to School’

(138) *Shushil Jalpaiguri-ta iuj-mi*  
 Shushil Jalpaiguri-LOC live-PRES  
 ‘Shushil lives in Jalpaiguri’

(139) *aku zij-mi*  
 he sleep-PRES  
 ‘He sleeps’

- (140) *Rahul putbol klai-mi*  
 Rahul football play-PRES  
 ‘Rahul plays football’

#### 4.9.5.2. Past Tense

The past tense in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-na* as exemplified below.

- (141) *ka Ram-hin tiŋ-na*  
 I Ram-ACC see-PST  
 ‘I saw Ram’

- (142) *Swapan toisi ca-na*  
 Swapan mango eat-PST  
 ‘Swapan ate mango’

- (143) *Rajen ha-na*  
 Rajen go-PST  
 ‘Rajen went’

- (144) *aku ka-hin ico kolom pi-na*  
 she I-ACC one pen give-PST  
 ‘She gave me a pen’

#### 4.9.5.3. Future Tense

The future tense marker in Toto is viz. *-ro* which indicates the event that will take place. The future tense in Toto is described below.

(145) *ka klai-ro*

I play-FUT

‘I will play’

(146) *Dhoniram Silchar-ta waŋ-ro*

Dhoniram Silchar-LOC come-FUT

‘Dhoniram will come to Silchar’

(147) *Karina oŋcu-ta yui-ro*

Karina festival-LOC dance-FUT

‘Karina will dance in the festival’

(148) *ka aku-hiŋ tiŋ-ro*

I she-ACC see-FUT

‘I will see her’

#### **4.9.6. Aspects**

The tense tells us something about when the action or event takes place; the category of aspect tells us how the action unfolds. That is, aspect is a means of marking whether the action is viewed as complete or not, whether it is a repeated action, an action in progress or whether it is engaged in habitually. There are three aspectual distinctions in Toto language, viz., (i) perfective (ii) progressive and (iii) habitual.

##### **4.9.6.1. Perfective**

The perfective is expressed by the aspectual marker *-pu* which is attached to the verb root followed by the past tense marker *-na* considering the following examples.

- (149) *aku ico iga la-pu-na*  
 she one book write-PERF-PST  
 ‘She has written a book’
- (150) *Shamoli ha-pu-na*  
 Shamoli go-PRF-PST  
 ‘Shamoli has gone’
- (151) *Biman kam jo-pu-na*  
 Biman work see-PRF-PST  
 ‘Biman has done the work’
- (152) *ka ziya tiη-pu-na*  
 I bird see-PRF-PST  
 ‘I have seen the bird’

#### 4.9.6.2. Progressive

The progressive is expressed by the suffix *-daη* which is attached to the verb root followed by the tense markers as in the following examples.

- (153) *ka Silchar-ta waη-daη-mi*  
 I Silchar-LOC come-PROG-PRES  
 ‘I am coming to Silchar’
- (154) *aku ziη-daη-na*  
 he sleep-PROG-PST  
 ‘He was sleeping’



(155) *Riya pauri-daṇ-mi*

Riya swim-PROG-PRES

‘Riya is swimming’

(156) *Susmita ipu ziya tiṇ-daṇ-mi*

Susmita one bird see-PROG-PRES

‘Susmita is seeing a bird’

#### 4.9.6.3. Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect is expressed by the aspectual marker *-caṇ* which is attached to the verb root followed by the tense marker *-mi* as discussed in the following examples.

(157) *Tina hati-ta ha-caṇ-mi*

Tina market-LOC go-HAB-PRES

‘Tina used to go to market’

(158) *ka hapuṇ casin aṇ-caṇ-mi*

I morning tea drink-HAB-PRES

‘I used to take tea in the morning’

(159) *ka kriket klai-caṇ-mi*

I cricket play-HAB-PRES

‘I used to play cricket’

(160) *aku sedaidiṇ waṇ-caṇ-mi*

he daily come-HAB-DECL

‘He comes regularly’

#### 4.9.7. Mood

Mood expresses the attitudes of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterances such as possibility, uncertainty in terms of the degree or kind etc., in Toto. It can be analyzed in terms of the imperative, permissive, capability, obligatory, probability, conditional, necessity, intensive and optative.

##### 4.9.7.1. Imperative

Imperatives are verb forms or construction types that are used to directly command the addressee to perform some action (Payne 1997). The imperative construction is often with second person subjects. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, imperative constructions in Toto are not marked by a suffix *-ko*. Considering the following examples .

(161) *əma ca-ko*

rice eat-IMP

‘Eat rice!’

(162) *waŋ pa-ko*

come take-IMP

‘Come and take!’

(163) *yui-pa-ko*

dance-CAUS-IMP

‘Make to dance!’

(164) *waŋ-ko*

come-IMP

‘Come!’

#### 4.9.7.2. Obligative mood

The mood of obligation is expressed by using a morpheme *nero* which follows the main verb. Consider the following examples.

- (165) *nati ha nero*  
you give OBL  
'You should go'

- (166) *aku way nero*  
he come OBL  
'He must go'

- (167) *Haran jo nero*  
Haron do OBL  
'Haron must do'

- (168) *Taniya yui nero*  
Taniya dance OBL  
'Taniya should dance'

#### 4.9.7.3. Capability

Capability means the capacity of doing something. The mood of capability or ability in Toto is expressed by using a morpheme *curo* with verbal root. For example.

- (169) *aku Jalpaiguri-ta ha ro*  
he Jalpaiguri-LOC go CAP  
'He can go to Jalpaiguri'

(170) *ka icoday ha curo*  
 I alone go CAP  
 ‘I can go alone’

(171) *nati aku-hin tin curo*  
 you 3-DAT see CAP  
 ‘You can see to her’

(172) *John putbol klai curo*  
 John football play CAP  
 ‘John can play football’

#### 4.9.7.4. Probability

The notion probability is expressed in Toto through the use of probability suffix *-cu* by attaching to the verb root followed by tense marker *-mi* as discussed in the following examples.

(173) *Baskaran kam jo-cu-mi*  
 Baskaran come-PROB AUX-PRES  
 ‘Baskaran may do the work’

(174) *sani hini tepana-cu-mi*  
 Sun today raise-PROB-PRES  
 ‘Sun may raise today’

(175) *aku zukun klai-cu-mi*  
 he tomorrow play-PROB-PRES  
 ‘He may play tomorrow’

#### 4.9.7.5. Necessity

The necessity modality in Toto is expressed by the use of modal verb *goyro* meaning ‘need’.

- (176) *Tom ese ti goyro ni*  
Tom some water NEC AUX  
‘Tom needs some water’

- (177) *aku ne zih-ko goyro ni*  
She now do-INF NEC AUX  
‘She will have to sleep now (lit. She need to sleep now)’

- (178) *ka əma goyro ni*  
I rice NEC AUX  
‘I need rice’

- (179) *Rina aku-hiŋ əma pi-ko goyro ni*  
Rina her-ACC rice give-INF NEC AUX  
‘Rina has to give her rice’ (lit. Rina need to give rice to her)

#### 4.9.7.6. Conditional mood

The conditional mood in Toto is expressed by suffixing *-do* to the verb as described below.

- (180) *aku ha-do*  
he go-COND  
‘If he goes’

(181) *nati le-do*  
 you sing-COND  
 ‘If you sing’

(182) *Rajen waŋ-do*  
 Rajen come-COND  
 ‘If Rajen comes’

(183) *aku leŋ-do*  
 she smile-COND  
 ‘If she smiles’

#### 4.9.7.7. Permissive

The permissive mood denotes ‘a wish’ or permission. This kind of verb is non-past. The permissive mood is expressed by the desiderative verb *picpu* ‘allow’ followed by the imperative marker *-ko*.

(184) *aku-hiŋ      ha-ko      picpu-ko*  
 3-ACC      go-INF PERM-IMP  
 ‘Allow him to play’

(185) *aku-hiŋ      ya-ko      picpu-ko*  
 3-ACC      run-INF      PERM-IMP  
 ‘Allow him to run’

(186) *aku-biya-hiŋ leŋ-ko      picpu-ko*  
 3-PL-ACC      play-INF      PERM-IMP  
 ‘Allow them to smile’

- (187) *aku-niu-ta*    *guŋko-taŋ*    *picpu-ko*  
           3-PL-ACC    enter-INF    PERM-IMP  
           ‘Allow them to enter’

#### 4.10. Adverbs

Structurally, adverbs in Toto can be categorized into two different types simple and derived adverbs.

##### 4.10.1 Simple Adverbs

Simple adverbs in Toto are non-derived adverbs that modify the verbs. Simple adverbs in the language can be mono-syllabic, di-syllabic and polysyllabic. However, the mono-syllabic simple adverbs seem to be less than polysyllabic ones as exemplified below.

<i>ne</i>	‘now’
<i>zukuŋ</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>hini</i>	‘today’
<i>haŋbo</i>	‘inside’
<i>əiŋi</i>	‘yesterday’

##### 4.10.2. Derived Adverbs

Derived adverbs in Toto are derived from verb or noun by adding adverbial marker *-pa* and *sediŋ-* to the same. So the derivation of adverbs from noun or verbs is one of the typological features of Tibeto-Burman languages.

###### 4.10.2.1. Derivation of Adverbs from Nouns

As mentioned earlier that adverbs in Toto can be derived from nouns by postposing adverbial prefix *sediŋ-* to the nouns. It is observed that the adverbs derive from the nouns are temporal adverbs as can be seen in the following examples.

(189) *sedin-din*

ADVLZ-day

‘Every day’

(190) *sedin hebkon*

ADVLZ-morning

‘Every morning’

(191) *sedin-lo*

ADVLZ-year

‘Every year’

#### **4.10.2.2. Derivation of adverbs from stative verbs**

Adverbs in Toto are mainly derived from stative verbs by postposing *-pa* to the same. It is interesting to note that adverbs derived from stative verbs are mostly manner adverbs as can be seen in the following examples.

(192) *enja-pa*

be.nice-ADVLZ

‘Nicely’

(193) *setin-pa*

be.loud-ADVLZ

‘loudly’

(194) *mosan-pa*

be.bad-ADVLZ

‘Badly’



(195) *enta-pa*  
be.neat-ADVLZ  
'Neatly'

(196) *curuŋ-pa*  
blunt-ADVLZ  
'Bluntly'

#### 4.10.3. Reduplicated adverbs

Some adverbs are also formed by means of reduplication. The word *nuŋbo* 'inside', *biai* 'moment' and *hatroŋ* 'time' are reduplicated to form adverbs as can be seen in the following examples.

(197) *naŋpo naŋpo*  
inside inside  
'Inwardly'

(198) *sukapa sukapa*  
moment moment  
'Occasional'

(199) *hatroŋ hatroŋ*  
time time  
'Sometimes'

#### 4.10.4. Semantic classification of Adverbs

Semantically, adverbs in Toto may be classified in the following types: (i) adverbs of manner (ii) adverbs of time (iii) adverbs of place and (iv) adverbs of degree.

#### 4.10.4. 1. Adverb of manner

The adverbs of manner are all derived adverbs in the language. They are all derived from the stative verbs as shown in the following examples.

- (200) *waj suka-pa*  
work be.slow-ADVLZ  
'Come slowly!'

- (201) *yewa setiŋ-pa*  
speak loud-ADVLZ  
'Speak loudly'

#### 4.10.4. 2. Adverb of time

Most of time adverbials in Toto are frequently used by the Toto speaker in their daily conversation expressing the different time frames. The adverbs of time in Toto are illustrated in the following examples.

- (202) *ka hani mibiyai-ro*  
I today be.busy-FUT  
'I will be busy today'

- (203) *Ravi zukuŋ ha-ro*  
Ravi tomorrow go-FUT  
'Ravi will go tomorrow'

#### 4.10.4. 3. Adverb of Location and Direction

There are two locative adverbials used in Toto i) *ita* 'here' and ii) *uta* 'there'. These locational adverbs are formed by adding the locative suffixes -*ta* to the proximate and distal determiners *i* and *u* respectively. Consider the following examples.

(204) *i-ta*                      *waŋ-ko*  
          DEM-LOC              come-IMP  
          ‘I am here’

(205) *u-ta*                      *ha-ko*  
          DEM-LOC              go-IMP  
          ‘Go there!’

#### 4.10.4. 4. Adverbs of degree

In Toto, the adverb of degree is derived from specifier root *komi* ‘very’ as in illustrated in the following examples.

(206) *aku*    *eŋta*                      *komi*  
          he    be.good                      very  
          ‘He is very good’

(207) *aku*    *aku-ta*                      *zezeŋ komi*  
          he    she-ACC                      love    very  
          ‘He loves her too much/very much’

### 4.11. Word formation

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has four major word formation processes viz., (i) affixation (ii) Compounding (iii) reduplication and (iv) borrowing.

#### 4.11.1. Affixation

As many other agglutinating language in the world, affixation in Toto plays a significant role to form new words. Affixation in Toto can be classified into two types namely: (i) prefixation and (ii) suffixation. However,

infixation is totally absent in the language. However, coining of new words with prefixation is not noticed so far in the language.

#### 4.11.1.1. Suffixation

As already mentioned that like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, different types of affixations in Toto can be shown below.

##### 4.11.1.1.1. Derivational suffixes

###### 4.11.1.1.1.1. Noun from Verb

In Toto, nouns are derived by suffixing derivational suffix *-wa* to the verb followed by the marker *-poja*.

<i>-wa</i>	<i>tui</i>	‘run’	<i>tui-wa-poja</i>	‘runner’
	<i>ca</i>	‘eat’	<i>ca-wa-poja</i>	‘eater’
	<i>ye</i>	‘speak’	<i>ye-wa-poja</i>	‘speaker’
	<i>la</i>	‘write’	<i>la-wa-poja</i>	‘writer’
	<i>le</i>	‘song’	<i>le-wa-poja</i>	‘singer’
	<i>yi</i>	‘dance’	<i>yui-wa-poja</i>	‘dancer’
	<i>klai</i>	‘play’	<i>klai-wa-poja</i>	‘player’
	<i>coi</i>	‘buy’	<i>coi-wa-poja</i>	‘buyer’
	<i>ne</i>	‘look’	<i>ne-maipu</i>	‘looker’

###### 4.11.1.1.1.2. Adjectival from Verb

Toto has a derivational suffix *-tu* that is attached to a verb to form adjective as in *ca* ‘eat’ and *ca-tu* ‘eatable’. Some instances are given below.

<i>-nu</i>	<i>ca</i>	‘eat’	<i>ca-tu</i>	‘eatable’
	<i>porai</i>	‘read’	<i>porai-tu</i>	‘readable’
	<i>ye</i>	‘speak’	<i>ye-tu</i>	‘speak able’

<i>tiŋ</i>	‘see’	<i>tiŋ-tu</i>	‘watchable’
<i>aŋ</i>	‘drink’	<i>aŋ-tu</i>	‘drinkable’

#### 4.11.1.1.1.3. Adverbs from adjectivals

Like other Tibeto Burman languages, Adverbs in Toto are derived from adjectives by suffixing *-pa* to the adjective root. It can be compared to English *-ly*.

(208) *setiŋ-pa*

be loud-ADVLZ

‘Loudlly’

(209) *sene-pa*

be quick-ADVLZ

‘Quickly/fast

(210) *mozo-pa*

be.rough-ADVLZ

‘Roughly’

(211) *coruŋ-pa*

be blunt-ADVLZ

‘Bluntly’

#### 4.11.2. Compounds

According to Abbi (1992), compounds refer “to the paired construction in which the second word is not exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word either on the semantic or on the

phonetic level”. It is to be noted that each word of a compound has a meaning of its own and can be used independently in a sentence.

#### **4.11.2. 1. Formation of Compound Nouns**

##### **Noun+ Noun**

- (212) *ziya-kebu* ‘  
[ziya ‘bird’ + kebu ‘house’]  
‘Nest’ (lit. Bird house)
- (213) *dinda-koisi*  
[dinda ‘insect’ + koisi ‘net’]  
‘Wasp’ (lit. Insect net)
- (214) *pika-biya*  
[pika ‘cow’ + biya ‘meat’]  
‘Beef’ (lit. Cow meat)
- (215) *paka-biya*  
[paka ‘pig’ + biya ‘meat’]  
‘Pork’ (lit. Pig meat)
- (216) *pasiŋ-sa*  
[pasiŋ ‘bamboo’ + sa ‘house’]  
‘Hut’ (lit. Bamboo house)
- (217) *sai-ti*  
[sai ‘curry’ + ti ‘water’]  
‘Soup’ (lit. Curry water’)

(218) *ku-siŋ*

[ku ‘finger’ + siŋ ‘corner’]

‘Nail’ (lit. Finger corner)

**Noun+ Verb**

(219) *biya-sediŋ*

[biya ‘air’ + sediŋ ‘bo strong’]

‘Storm’ (lit. Strong air)

(220) *neya-seŋpa*

[neya ‘fish’ + seŋpa ‘be dry’]

‘Dry fish’

(221) *moŋ-cə*

[moŋ ‘paddy’ + cə ‘to cut’]

‘Harvest’ (lit. Paddy cutting)

(222) *top-ro*

[top ‘head’ + ro ‘wear’]

‘Cap’ (lit. Head wear)

**Noun+ Preposition**

(223) *bucuŋ-ru*

[bucuŋ ‘shoulder’ + ru ‘on’]

‘Older’ (lit. shoulder above)

(224) *sani-teina*

[sani ‘sun’ + teina ‘out’]

‘East’ (lit. sun out)

#### 4.11.2. 2. Formation of Compound Verbs

In Toto the verb plus verb compound both the classes of verb plays the significant role to form compound verbs.. The compound verbs in Toto are demonstrated in the following examples.

##### Verb + Verb

(225) *ha-waŋ*

[ha ‘go’ + waŋ ‘come’]

‘Travel’ (lit. Go and come)

(226) *tui-ha*

[tui ‘run’ + ha ‘go’]

‘Elope’ (lit. Run go)

(227) *azi-pa*

[azi ‘be true’ + pa ‘bring]

‘Believe’ (lit. True sense)

#### 4.11.2. 3. Numeral Compounding

In Toto, the higher numerals are explicitly formed by means of compounding expressing either addition or multiplication as can be demonstrated in the following examples.

##### Number + Number

(228) *taco ico*

10 + 1 = 11

‘Eleven’



(229) *ikaico nico*

$$20 + 2 = 22$$

‘Twenty two’

(230) *ni kai*

$$2 \times 20 = 40$$

‘Forty’

(231) *nikaico ico*

$$2 \times 20 + 1 = 41$$

‘Forty one’

#### **4.11.3. Reduplication**

Abbi (1992) divides two major types of reduplication: (i) morphological and (ii) lexical. Morphological reduplication is further divided into expressive, which includes onomatopoeia, sound symbolism, ideophone and imitative. Lexical reduplication nouns, verbs, derived adjectives, Wh-questions are reduplicated in the language. Lexical reduplication is again divided into three types: echo formation, compound and word reduplication.

##### **4.11.3.1. Lexical reduplication**

###### **4.11.3.1. 1. Echo formation**

“An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated from the base word-partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can either be a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The ‘replacer’ (phoneme/syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid. The replacer sound sequences may not necessarily be unique but may never be numerous (Abbi, 1991).”  
The list of echo words in Toto are given below.

<i>əma umə</i>	‘rice etc.’
<i>aŋdaŋ uŋdaŋ</i>	‘shirt etc.’
<i>apa upa</i>	‘father etc’
<i>aku uku</i>	‘he etc’
<i>ka ku</i>	‘I etc’
<i>le li</i>	‘sing’
<i>ne ni</i>	‘wait etc’
<i>me mi</i>	‘fire etc’
<i>mi si</i>	‘eye etc’
<i>pika sika</i>	‘cow etc’
<i>paka saka</i>	‘pig etc’
<i>hani sani</i>	tomorrow etc’
<i>sedai sudai</i>	‘every etc’
<i>ti si</i>	‘water etc’
<i>tui sui</i>	‘run etc’
<i>biya siya</i>	‘air etc’
<i>ziya siya</i>	‘bird etc’
<i>tiŋ siŋ</i>	‘see etc’
<i>guai suai</i>	‘betel nut etc’

#### 4.11.3.1. 2. Compound Reduplication

Debajit (2015) has stated that ‘The compounds words are those words that refer to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exactly repeated word but it has some kind of similarity to the first word. This

similarity can be at either the semantic level or phonetic level. Whatever may be the relationship the combined word may or may not keep the original meaning and reference intact. Some of the few compounds reduplicated words in Toto are discussed below.

(232) *ti-te*

[ti 'water' + te 'be big']

'Flood' (lit. big water)

(233) *ti-bo*

[ti 'water' + da 'be large']

'Sea' (lit. Large water)

(234) *pi-ca*

[pi 'give' + ca 'eat']

'Feed' (lit. to give and eat)

(235) *tiŋ-zezeŋ*

[tiŋ 'look' + zezeŋ 'love']

'Grace' (lit. to look and love)

#### **4.11.3.1. 3. Word Reduplication**

Debajit (2015) 'Word reduplication means the repetition of base word either partially or completely. Therefore, when a word is repeated once completely without any phonological or morphological variation is called complete reduplication. Hence, a word x becomes xx in the case of complete reduplication.'

Abbi (1992) divided complete reduplication into two types and this division was based on functional criteria. The two types are a) Class maintaining type, referring to those words, which remain in the same grammatical class

even after reduplication and b) Class changing type refers those reduplicated words which change its grammatical class after reduplication from its non-reduplicated counterparts.

#### 4.11.3.1. 3. 1. Class Maintaining Complete Reduplication

<i>din</i> ‘day’	(N)	→	<i>din din</i>	‘days’ (PL N)
<i>sa</i> ‘house’	(N)	→	<i>sa sa</i>	‘houses’ (PL N)
<i>puima</i> ‘star’	(N)	→	<i>puima puima</i>	‘stars’ (PL N)
<i>kiya</i> ‘dog’	(N)	→	<i>kiya kiya</i>	‘dogs’ (PL N)

#### 4.11.3.1. 3. 2. Class Changing Complete Reduplication

<i>iniŋ</i> ‘year’	(N)		<i>imiŋ imiŋ</i>	‘yearly’	(ADV)
<i>tari</i> ‘month’	(N)		<i>tari tari</i>	‘monthly’	(ADV)
<i>suka</i> ‘be slow’	(V)		<i>suka suka</i>	‘slowly’	(ADV)
<i>əzipa</i> ‘be true’	(V)		<i>əzipa əzipa</i>	‘truelly’	
	(ADV)				

#### 4.11.3.2. Expressives

Expressives are also one of the morphological reduplication. It includes onomatopoeias, sound symbolism, idiophones and imitative. It may be phonological symbolism. In Toto, some examples of sense are discussed in five levels.

##### 4.11.3.2.1. Noises

###### Animal Voices

<i>ka ka</i>	‘crowing of crow’
<i>miau miau</i>	‘mewing of cat’

*bou bou* 'barking of dog'

#### **Noises of Natural Phenomenon**

*so so* 'blowing of air'

*ra ra* 'flowing of water'

*gurum gurum* 'roaring of cloud'

#### **Noises made by humans**

*hi hi* 'roar of laughter'

*cəp cəp* 'offensive sound during chewing'

*koto koto* 'sound of drinking water'

*sup sup* 'sound of drinking tea'

#### **Noises by inanimate objects**

*teŋ teŋ* 'ringing of bell'

*tum tum* 'beating of drum'

*haro haro* 'falling of rain'

#### **4.11.3.2.2. Sense of Sight**

*hampa hampa* 'dazzling white'

*alu alu* 'shining with glare'

*sidan sidan* 'flickering of lamp'

#### **4.11.3.2.3. Sense of Smell**

*menanwa menanwa* 'rotten smell'

*onpuwa onpuwa* 'burnt smell'

#### 4.11.3.2.4. Sense of Touch

*tə tə* ‘sticky’

*ciri ciri* ‘tingling’

*acucu acucu* ‘shivering’

#### 4.11.4. Borrowing

According to Hock (1986: 380), “the term borrowing refers to the adoption of Individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect.” Borrowing is also one of the word formation processes in Toto. In Toto, some of the lexical items are commonly borrowed from Bengali, English and other Indo-Aryan languages to fulfill their daily communication needs. It is generally recognized that nouns seem universally more easily borrowed than any other classes of words. It is true in the case of Toto speakers that considerable numbers of nouns are easily borrowed from the above mentioned languages however verb, adverb, postpositions cannot borrow easily as such as can be seen in the following examples.

##### 4.11.4.1. Common Bengali words in Toto

Bengali		Toto	English
<i>shihho</i>	→	<i>sihho</i>	‘lion’
<i>kenci</i>	→	<i>kenti</i>	‘scissors’
<i>cini</i>	→	<i>sini</i>	‘sugar’
<i>gari:</i>	→	<i>gari</i>	‘vehicle’
<i>i:t</i>	→	<i>it</i>	‘brick’
<i>a:ta</i>	→	<i>ata</i>	‘flour’
<i>ca:ka</i>	→	<i>caka</i>	‘wheel’
<i>rosogula</i>	→	<i>rosugula</i>	‘a kind of sweet ’

<i>saban</i>	→	<i>sabon</i>	‘soap’
<i>rou</i>	→	<i>rau</i>	‘salmon fish’
<i>ilif</i>	→	<i>ilisa</i>	‘hilsa fish’
<i>uṭ</i>	→	<i>ut</i>	‘camel’
<i>du:kan</i>	→	<i>dukan</i>	‘shop’
<i>zelapi</i>	→	<i>zelabi</i>	‘a kind of sweet’

#### 4.11.4.2. Common English words in Toto

English		Toto
apple	→	<i>epol</i>
antenna	→	<i>intina</i>
accident	→	<i>eksident</i>
aeroplane	→	<i>plan</i>
battery	→	<i>betri</i>
bomb	→	<i>bom</i>
bank	→	<i>beŋ</i>
bus	→	<i>bas</i>
college	→	<i>koliz</i>
cinema	→	<i>sinima</i>
chalk	→	<i>čok</i>
computer	→	<i>kompiutar</i>
curfew	→	<i>karp<sup>h</sup>u</i>
court	→	<i>kot</i>
doctor	→	<i>dəktor</i>
district	→	<i>distik</i>
engineer	→	<i>inginiyar</i>

factory	→	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ektri</i>
gate	→	<i>get</i>
hero	→	<i>hero</i>
jacket	→	<i>zeket</i>
kerosene	→	<i>kersin</i>
library	→	<i>laibiri</i>
notice	→	<i>nutis</i>
office	→	<i>op<sup>h</sup>is</i>
police	→	<i>polis</i>
record	→	<i>rekod</i>
school	→	<i>iskul</i>
table	→	<i>tebul</i>
university	→	<i>unibarsiti</i>
vote	→	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ot</i>
zebra	→	<i>zebra</i>



## Chapter- 5

### Syntax

#### 5.1. Noun Phrase

In Toto, noun phrase consist of the head noun that may be preceded or followed by one or more modifiers. In Toto, the modifiers usually follow the head noun. A noun phrase may contain only a noun or a pronoun. Consider the following examples.

##### 5.1.1. Noun phrase with adjectival

The adjectivals may follow or precedes the head noun in the language considering the following examples.

- (1)    *sa        aticuwa*  
         house small  
         ‘Small house’ (lit. house small)

- (2)    *aticuwa sa*  
         small house  
         ‘Small house’

- (3)    *meme zezeŋwa*  
         girl beautiful  
         ‘Beautiful girl (lit. girl beautiful)

- (4)    *zezeŋwa meme*  
  
         beautiful girl  
  
         ‘Beautiful girl’

### 5.1.2. Noun phrase with double adjectives

A noun phrase in Toto may have more than one adjective as modifier. In this case, both the adjectives may precede or follow the head noun as discussed below.

(5) *de tabuwa dalaiwa*

stick big long

‘Big long stick’

(6) *tabuwa dalaiwa de*

big long stick

‘Big long stick’

(7) *meme bucuwa aticuwa*

girl small fat

‘Small fat girl’

(8) *aticuwa bucuwa meme*

fat small girl

‘Small fat girl’

### 5.1.3. Noun phrase with demonstrative

Demonstratives always precede the head noun in a noun phrase in Toto. As stated in the following examples.

(9) *i kiya*

DEM dog

‘This dog’

(10) *i sa*  
DEM house  
'This house'

(11) *u pika*  
DEM cow  
'That cow'

(12) *u sa*  
DEM house  
'That house'

#### 5.1.4. Noun phrase with demonstrative plus adjective

The demonstratives come before the head noun whereas the adjective may precede or follow the same as illustrated in the following examples.

(13) *i dasiwa ziya*  
DEM black bird  
'This black bird'

(14) *i ziya dasiwa*  
DEM bird black  
'This black bird'

(15) *u hanpuwa ziya*  
DEM white bird  
'That white bird'

- (16) *u ziya hanpuwa*  
DEM bird white  
'That white bird'

#### 5.1.5. Noun phrase with quantifier

The quantifier in Toto usually follows the head noun as illustrated below.

- (17) *ziya huse*  
bird many  
'Many birds'

- (18) *kiya huse*  
dog many  
'Many dogs'

- (19) *iga isese*  
book some  
'Some books'

- (20) *meme isese*  
girl some  
'Some girls'

#### 5.1.6. Noun phrase with numerals

The numerals in Toto are usually preceding the head noun as illustrated below.

(21) *ipu ziya*  
One bird  
'One bird'

(22) *ico diŋa*  
one man  
'One man'

(23) *nico sa*  
two house  
'Two houses'

(24) *niteŋ sene*  
two tree  
'Two tree'

#### 5.1.7. Noun phrase with postpositions

Noun phrase with postpositions are common in Toto. The postpositions are postposed to the nouns as in other Tibeto-Burman languages do.

(25) *sa*                    *toi-ta*  
house                    above-LOC  
'On the top of house'

(26) *cun̄ca abe-ta*  
jungle near-LOC  
'Near the jungle'

(27) *iga nanbo-ta*  
 book inside-LOC  
 ‘Inside the book’

(28) *sa nunui-ta*  
 house behind-LOC  
 ‘Behind the house’

#### 5.1.8. Coordinate Noun phrase

Coordinate noun phrases are formed by joining two or more noun phrase. In other words, two or more noun phrases are joined by a coordinator, which may either conjunctive *so* or the disjunctive *mokna* as can be seen in the following examples.

##### *Conjunctive*

(29) *pika so dika*  
 Cow and buffalo  
 ‘Cow and buffalo’

(30) *nati so ka*  
 You and I  
 ‘You and I’

(31) *kuŋ əpa so kuŋ ayu*  
 My father and my mother  
 ‘My father and my mother’

- (32) *pika dika so ziya*  
cow buffalo and bird  
'Cow, buffalo and bird'

***Disjunctive***

- (33) *Ram mokna Shyam*  
Ram or Shyam  
'Ram or Shyam'

- (34) *nati mokna ka*  
you or I  
'You or I'

**5.2. Verb phrase**

Toto verb phrase consisting of a verb and some other optional elements (NPs or Adverbs) which generally precede the verb. There are simple sentences in which the VP consists of only V as shown in the following examples.

- (35) *Rajen zih-mi*  
Rajen sleep-PRES  
'Rajen sleeps'

- (36) *Priya ha-ro*  
Priya go-FUT  
'Priya will go'

- (37) *aku ha-na*  
 he go-PST  
 ‘He went’

When the VP takes two NPs, the first NP is the indirect object and the second NP is the direct object and both objects precede the verb in the following order: S + IO + DO + V as exemplified below.

- (38) *Bahadur aku-hiŋ ico kolom pi-na*  
 Bahadur he-DAT one pen give-PST  
 ‘Bahadur gave him a pen’

- (39) *Shila Milan-hiŋ ico cithi pi-na*  
 Shila Milan-DAT one letter give-PST  
 ‘Shila gave a letter to Milan’

- (40) *aku ka-hiŋ leŋsra pi-na*  
 he I-DAT smile give-PST  
 ‘She gave me a smile’

It is to be noted here that the verb phrase is also formed by the verb plus post-verbal suffixes: aspect, tense, causative markers etc. as shown below.

- (41) *ha-na*  
 go-PST  
 ‘Went’

- (42) *ca-pa-na*  
 eat-CAUS-PST  
 ‘Made to eat’



(43) *ha-ro*  
 go-.FUT  
 ‘Will go’

(44) *aku leŋ-dan-mi*  
 he smile-PROG-PERS  
 ‘He is smiling’

### 5.3. Toto Clause

Toto employs different devices to determine different types of clauses as different particles are employed to form the various types of clauses in the language. The order of the major constituents of a simple clause in Toto is SOV i.e., the subject, the object, and the verbs as most of the Tibeto-Burman languages do (Okell, 1969, DeLancey, 1997).

#### 5.3.1. Basic clause types

##### 5.3.1.1. Declarative clause

Declarative clause in Toto is unmarked. Semantically, it express statement, assertion etc. Declarative clause can be divided into verbal and non-verbal clause.

##### 5.3.1.1.1. Verbal clause

Verbal clause in Toto can be divided into transitive and transitive. (Samir 2015) ‘The distinction between transitive and intransitive clause can be made on the basis of arguments taken by the predicates’ Transitive predicate take two core arguments as in (45) and (46) and the intransitive predicate can take an argument as in (47) and (48).

(45) *Ram phutbol klai-mi*  
 Ram football play-PRES  
 ‘Ram plays football’

(46) *pika uti pi-mi*  
 cow milk give-PRES  
 ‘Cow gives milk’

(47) *aku kai-na*  
 she cry-PST  
 ‘She cried’

(48) *diŋa tui-mi*  
  
 man run-PRES  
 ‘The man runs’

#### **5.3.1.1.2. Non-verbal clause**

In Toto, declarative non-verbal clauses lack main verb or copula.

##### **5.3.1.1.2.1. Nominal construction**

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto is a copula less language where no copula is employed to link the two NPs i.e., NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub>. as exemplified below.

(49) *aku ico daktor*  
 he one doctor  
 ‘He is a doctor.’

(50) *i kuŋ sa*  
 DEM my house  
 ‘This is my house.’

(51) *aku ico klai-wa-poja*  
 He one player  
 ‘He is a player.’

### 5.3.1.2. Purposive clause

A purposive clause in Toto is introduced with the free morpheme *tamca* ‘for/in order to’. Semantically, purposive clauses provide reasons for performing the action. The purpose clause always follows the infinitive verb as shown in the following examples.

(52) *aku-biya tiŋ-ko tamca waŋ-na*  
 he-PL see-INF for come-PST  
 ‘They came for watching’

(53) *Rajen bari-ko tamca lasu-na*  
 Rajen wealth-GEN for fought-PST  
 ‘Rajen fought for wealth’

(54) *aku futbol klai-ko tamca ha-na*  
 he football play-INF for go-PST  
 ‘He went for playing football’

- (55) *shunali hati-ta pika coina-ko tamca ha-na*  
 Shunali market-LOC cow buy-INF for go-PST  
 ‘Shunali went to market for buying a cow’

### 5.3.1.3. Desiderative clause

Toto does not have the verb denoting ‘want’. But has only one desiderative verb that can take sentential complement. The desiderative verb or word *goyro* expresses ‘desire or wish’. Samir (2010) ‘The desiderative verb is postposed to the main verb which takes the infinitive form and can be inflected for present and past tense.’ as discussed below.

- (56) *ka ha-ko goyro-mi*  
 I go-INF DESID-PRES  
 ‘I want/wish to go’

- (57) *aku ha-ko goyro-na*  
 he go-INF DESID-PST  
 ‘He wanted/wished to go’

- (58) *Toma ca-ko goyro-mi*  
 Toma eat-INF DESID-PRES  
 ‘Toma wants to eat’

- (59) *Ruma tui-ko goyro-na*  
 Ruma run-INF DESID-PST  
 ‘Ruma wished to run’

#### 5.3.1.4. Relative clause

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, relative clauses in Toto are nominalised verb forms which usually modify the noun or noun phrases considering the following examples.

##### 5.3.1.4.1. Headed relative clause

In headed relative clause, the relative clause is prenominal.

- (60) *əŋji le-wa diya kuŋ əpa*  
yesterday sing-REL person my father  
'(The) man who sang yesterday is my father'

- (61) *hani klai-wa meme kuŋ yeme*  
today play-REL girl my sister  
'(The) girl who played today is my sister'

- (62) *əŋji sipu-wa luka hini picpu-na*  
yesterday die-REL rhino today sell-PST  
'(The) rhino which died yesterday was sold today'

##### 5.3.1.4.2. Headless relative clause

Toto has a headless relative clause. The headless relative clause lacks an overt head nominal and it is interpretable as 'those who'. The case marker or other suffixes of the noun phrase directly follow the relative clause.

- (63) *putbol klai-wa-bi sipu-na*  
football play-REL-PL die-PST  
'Those who played football were died'

- (64) *nəsə            kui-wa-bi    ne    ʒel-ta            ni-mi*  
          money            play-REL-PL   now    jail-LOC            AUX-PRES  
          ‘Those who have stolen money are in jail now’

#### 5.3.1.4.3. Relative clause as a lexical item

Certain common concepts that are so frequently referred have acquired the semantic specificity of a compound lexical item. Consider the following examples.

- (65) *gari    calai-wa*  
          car    drive-REL  
          ‘Driver’

- (66) *puriŋ    ce-wa*  
          hair    cut-REL  
          ‘Barbar’

- (67) *moŋto ziyo banai-wa*  
          mud    pitcher make-REL  
          ‘Porter’

- (68) *aŋdu silai-wa*  
          cloth    stitch-REL  
          ‘Tailor’

#### 5.3.1.4.4. Subject relative clause

The relativizer relativizes the subjects of agentive transitive or non-agentive intransitive clauses by-*wa* where the relative clause precedes the head noun as can be seen in the following examples.

(69) *dukan khula-wa diṇa*  
shop close-REL person  
‘(The) person who opened the shop’

(70) *sipu-wa diṇya*  
die-REL person  
‘(The) person who died’

(71) *tui-wa meme*  
run-REL girl  
‘(The) girl who runs’

#### 5.3.1.5. Infinitive Clause

The infinitival clause is formed by suffixing *-ko* to the dependent clause.  
Considering the following examples.

(72) *aku hutel-ta iu aṇ-ko ha-na*  
he hotel-LOC wine drink-INF go-PST  
‘He went to hotel to drink wine’

(73) *Pinky aṇku-na ha-na*  
Pinky bath-INF go-PST  
‘Pinky went to take bath’

(74) *Estila ziṇ-na ha-ro*  
Estila sleep-INF go-FUT  
‘Estila will go to sleep’

- (75) *John Juli-yopa klai-na waŋ-na*  
 john Juli-with play-INF come-PST  
 ‘John came to play with Juli’

#### 5.4. Negation

In Toto, negation is expressed by means of affixation i.e., by the suffixation and prefixation. The trait is commonly found in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia. Like many other South East Asian languages like Chinese, Japanese, Thai etc., negative strategies in Toto are those which are employed to negate the whole proposition or the clause. Unlike English negative indefinite e.g., *no-body* or *nothing*, the negative indefinite pronoun is formed by negating the verb rather than the pronominal.

Negation in Toto is mainly expressed by means of affixation: *-ma*, *moko-* and *uhu*. So, both the negative markers are used to express the negation in the language. In Toto, the negator *-ma* is employed to negate both the declarative and interrogative clauses; and the non-declarative clause is negated by the prefix *moko-* in the language, nevertheless negative particle *uhu* is used only in the formation of negative interjections as discussed in the section.

##### 5.4. 1. Negation in verbal clause

In Toto, negator *ma-* is usually employed to negate the verbal clauses in Toto considering the following examples.

- (76) *ka əma ma-ca-mi*  
 I rice NEG-eat-PRES  
 ‘I do not eat rice’



(77) *Roshni ka-hiŋ ma-zezeŋ-mi*  
 Roshni I-ACC NEG-love-PRES  
 ‘Roshni does not like me’

(78) *aku ma-waŋ-mi*  
 She NEG-come-PRES  
 ‘She does not come’

(79) *aku-biya kam ma-ŋo curo*  
 he-PL work NEG-do can  
 ‘They cannot do the work’

#### 5.4. 2. Negation of non-verbal clause

The non-verbal clause in Toto basically includes the nominal, existential, locative and possessive constructions.

(80) *aku doctor-moko-mi*  
 he doctor-NEG-PRES  
 ‘He is not doctor’

(81) *i aku-ko sa moko-mi*  
 DEM he-GEN house-NEG-PRES  
 ‘This is not his house’

(82) *aku Totobi-moko-mi*  
 he Toto-NEG-PRES  
 ‘He is not Toto’

- (83) *cumca-ta      ziya    ni-mi*  
          forest-LOC   bird   AUX-PRES  
          ‘There is a bird in the forest’

#### 5.4. 3. Negative interjections

In Toto, there is a particle *uhu* which functions as negative interjection. It frequently occurs as an answer to a question or to contradict a statement perceived to be incorrect. The negative particle *uhu* occupies the left most position in a clause in Toto as illustrated in the following sentences (84) and (87).

- (84) *nati    casin    muṣaṇ-ga*  
          you    tea    get-QM  
          ‘Do you get tea?’

- (85) *uhu,    ma-mu*  
          no,    NEG-get  
          ‘No?’

- (86) *nati    ha-ro-go*  
          you    go-FUT-QM  
          ‘Will you go?’

- (87) *uhu    ka    ma-ha-ro*  
          no    I    NEG-go-FUT  
          ‘No, I will not?’

#### 5.4. 4. Prohibitive

Toto has the prohibitive expression which is marked by the same general negator *ma-* which precedes the verb root and followed by the imperative marker *-ko* whose use correlates with second person and there is no first or third person prohibitive in the language.

- (88) *wati-ta*        *ma-klai-ko*  
rain-LOC        PROH-play-IMP  
‘Do n’t play in the rain!’

- (89) *hati-ta*        *ma-ha-ko*  
market-LOC    PROH-come-IMP  
‘Do not go to the market!’

- (90) *iu*        *ma-aŋ-ko*  
wine    PROH-drink-IMP  
‘Do not take wine!’

- (91) *meleŋ ma-jo-ko*  
smile    PROH-smile-IMP  
‘Do not smile!’

#### 5. 5. Interrogatives

Interrogatives in Toto may be discussed in two ways viz., (i) yes-no questions which asks for the confirmation or negation of a statement. In other words, it is also known as confirmative type and Wh-questions or inquiry questions or elicitation type.

### 5. 5. 1. Confirmative questions

(92) Q    *nati hini ha-ro-ga*  
          you    today go-FUT-QM  
          ‘Will you go today?’

A    *ou, ka ha-ro*  
      yes, I    go-FUT  
      ‘Yes, I will’

(93) Q    *i sube-ga*  
          DEM new-QM  
          ‘Is this new?’

A    *ou, sube*  
      yes, new  
      ‘Yes, It is’

(94) Q    *nati Totobi-ga*  
          you Toto-QM  
          ‘Are you Toto?’

A    *ou, Totobi*  
      yes, Toto  
      ‘Yes, I am’

### 5.5. 2. Question words/content questions

The WH question is merely formed by using WH words with various question markers as shown below.

(95) *aku hasu-ga*

*əma* Wh-QM

‘Who is he?’

(96) *aku ico dokor*

he one doctor

‘He is a doctor.’

(97) *nako miŋ haŋ-ga*

you name what-QM

‘What is your name?’

(98) *kuŋ miŋ Beauty*

my name Beauty

‘My name is Beauty.’

(99) *nati haŋta ha-ga*

you Where go-QM

‘Where do you go?’

(100) *ka Delhi-ta ha-mi*

I Delhi-LOC go-PRES

‘I go to Delhi’

(101) *nati hasuhiŋ zezeŋ-ga*  
 you whom love-QM  
 ‘Whom do you love?’

(102) *ka Pinky-hiŋ zezeŋ-mi*  
 I Pinky-ACC love- PRES  
 ‘I love Pinky.’

(103) *u hasuko sa-ga*  
 DEM whose house-QM  
 ‘Whose house is that?’

(104) *i Pinky-ko sa-mi*  
 DEM Pinky-GEN house-PRES  
 ‘This is Pinky’s house’.

## 5.6. Nominalization

Nominalization in Toto is one of the productive morpho-syntactic features. Like almost all the languages of the family, Toto makes use of nominalizing morphemes to form nouns from verbs or verb like categories.

### 5.6.1. Derivational nominalization

Toto makes use of various nominalizers for deriving nouns from verbs as discussed below.

#### Nominalizer *jaga* ‘place’

The nominalizer *jaga* expresses a *place* of the action expressed by the verb’.

- (105) *əma ca-wa-jaga*  
 rice eat-NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘Place of eating/hotel’
- (106) *klai-wa-jaga*  
 play-NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘Playground/Place of playing’
- (107) *ziŋ-wa-jaga*  
 sleep-NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘Place of sleeping’
- (108) *tihu-wa-jaga*  
 Bath- NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘Bathroom/Place of bathing’

**Nominalizer -*niyom***

Toto uses nominalizing morpheme/ nominalizer for the manner nominalization. The nominalizer *niyom* is used to form nouns from the verbs expressing the ‘way of verbing’ preceded by the general nominalizer -*wa* as exemplified below.

- (109) *ye-wa -niyom*  
 dance-NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘The way of dancing’
- (110) *ziŋ-wa-niyom*  
 sleep-NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘The way sleeping’

(111) *ye- wa -niyom*  
 speak-NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘The way of speaking’

(112) *be-wa-niyom*  
 beat-NMLZ-NMLZ  
 ‘The way of beating’

### **Nominalizer -wa**

Abstract nouns and verbal nouns are formed by suffixing *-wa* to the verbal root as can be seen in the following examples.

<b>verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Nominal</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>seŋ</i>	‘be dry’	<i>seŋ-wa</i>	‘dryness’
<i>moto</i>	‘be empty’	<i>moto-wa</i>	‘emptiness’
<i>mucu</i>	‘be difficult’	<i>mucu-wa</i>	‘difficulty’
<i>kole</i>	‘be open’	<i>kole-wa</i>	‘openness’
<i>du</i>	‘be sharp’	<i>du-wa</i>	‘sharpness’
<i>tata</i>	‘be sweet’	<i>tata-wa</i>	‘sweetness’
<i>ziŋ</i>	‘sleep’	<i>ziŋ-wa</i>	‘sleepiness’
<i>zezeŋ</i>	‘love’	<i>zezeŋ-wa</i>	‘loveliness’
<i>none</i>	‘think’	<i>none-wa</i>	‘thinking’
<i>kai</i>	‘cry’	<i>kai-wa</i>	‘crying’

### **5. 7. Causativization**

Typologically causative in Toto can be classified into two types: (i) morphological and (ii) lexical.



### 5.7.1. Morphological causative

Causative or casual verb in Toto is morphologically marked. In other words, causativization in Toto is formed by means of compounding. The *pa* is the causative morpheme in Toto, which is preposed to the verb. It is to be noted that the formation of causative by means of compounding is one of the typical features of Toto language as exemplified below.

- (113) *aku-hiŋ*                      *klai-pa-ko*  
she-ACC                      play-CAUS-IMP  
'Make her to play'

- (114) *Lily*                      *nati-hiŋ*                      *kai-pa-ga*  
Lily                      you-ACC                      cry-CAUS-QM  
'Does Lily make you cry?'

- (115) *nati*                      *ceŋ-hiŋ*                      *ziŋ-daŋ-pa-mi*  
you                      baby-ACC                      sleep-PROG- CAUS-PRES  
'you are making the baby sleep'

### 5.7.2. Lexical causative

The lexical causative in Toto is the suppletive form as compared with its non-causative counterparts as discussed below. The verb *se* 'kill' is lexical causative verb as the notion of causation ('cause to die') is already present in the lexical lexical of the verb itself (Payne 1997: 177).

Non causative	Causative
<i>sipu</i> 'die'	<i>se</i> 'kill'

- (116) *Rajen aku-hiṇ se-na*  
 Rajen she-ACC kill-PST  
 ‘Rajen killed her’
- (117) *kuṇwa gibe-hiṇ se-na*  
 tiger deer-ACC kill-PST  
 ‘The tiger killed the deer’
- (118) *diṇa nua-hiṇ se-na*  
 man wife-ACC kill-PST  
 ‘The man killed his wife’
- (119) *sikari kuṇwa-hiṇ se-na*  
 man tiger-ACC kill-PST  
 ‘The hunter killed the tiger’

## 5.8. Types of Sentences

Toto sentences may be classified into different categories such as, simple sentence, complex sentence, and compound sentence.

### 5.8.1. Simple Sentence

Simple sentence consists of only one clause or main clause. Consider the examples.

- (120) *ka ziya-hiṇ tiṇ-mi*  
 I bird-ACC see-PRES  
 ‘I see the bird’

- (121) *kujwa            cuŋca-ta       ni-mi*  
          tiger           forest-LOC    AUX-PRES  
          ‘The tiger is in the forest’

- (122) *Shila   iskul-ta                   ha-mi*  
          Shila   school-LOC   go-PRES  
          ‘Shila goes to school’

- (123) *ka        ziŋ-mi*  
          I        sleep-PRES  
          ‘I sleep’

### 5.8.2. Compound Sentence

A compound sentence contains two or more independent clauses joined by a co- ordinate conjunction or by relative pronoun or by a relative adverb used in a continuative sense. Consider the following illustrated examples.

- (124) *zesuŋ-ta       kam   jo       so       lisuŋ   ziŋ   jo-ko*  
          day-LOC       work do       CONJ   night   sleep   do-IMP  
          ‘Work in the day and sleep at night’

- (125) *Mary   lewa   le-daŋ-mi                   so       Cherry yoi-daŋ-mi*  
          Mary   song   sing-PROG-PRES       CONJ   Cherry dance-PROG-PRES  
          ‘Mary is singing and Cherry is dancing’

- (126) *Rama Krishna-hiŋ waŋ-ko ye-na asa*  
 Rama Krishna-ACC come-INF come -PST CONJ  
*Krishna ma-waŋ-na*  
 Krishna NEG-come-PST  
 ‘Rama asked Krishna to come but Krishna did not come’

### 5.8. 3. Complex Sentence

Complex sentence consists of one principal clause with one or more subordinate clauses.

- (127) *ne waŋ-wa meme kuŋ me*  
 now come-REL girl my wife  
 ‘The girl who came now is my wife’

- (128) *əmɿi ye-wa diŋa kuŋ ʒito*  
 yesterday speak-REL person my uncle (elder)  
 ‘(The) man who danced yesterday is my uncle (elder)’

- (129) *Juli sipu-na haŋpa aku meŋ aŋ-na*  
 Juli die-PST because she poison drink-PST  
 ‘Juli died because she took poison’

### 5.9. Word order

The primary word order of different morphosyntactic domains are discussed below. The basic constituent order of words in Toto is Subject, Object and Verb (SOV).

### 5.9.1. Order of noun and adjectival

All adjectivals are derived from the stative verbs, which usually follow the noun, however adjectival may also precede the noun as many other SOV languages do as can be seen in (131) and (133).

- (130) *poja odaŋcu-wa*  
boy be short-NMLZ  
'Short boy'

- (131) *odaŋcu-wa poja*  
short-NMLZ boy  
'Short boy'

- (132) *meme zezeŋ-wa*  
girl good- NMLZ  
'Good girl'

- (133) *zezeŋ-wa meme*  
good -NMLZ girl  
'Good girl'

### 5.9.2. Order of noun and numerals

The numerals always precede the nouns as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do.

- (134) *dipu kiya*  
four dog  
'Four dogs'

- (135) *u-ta*                      *epu keka*                      *ni-na*  
                  DR-LOC                      one hen                      place-DECL  
                  ‘There is a bird’

### 5.9.3. Order of quantifiers and noun

Like numerals, the quantifiers in Toto always follow the nouns as can be seen in the following examples.

- (136) *meme*                      *esese*  
                  girl                      QUNT  
                  ‘Few girl/some girls’

- (137) *paka*                      *huse*  
                  Pig                      QUNT  
                  ‘Many pigs’

- (138) *dika*                      *isese*  
                  buffallow                      QUNT  
                  ‘Some buffallows’

### 5.9.4. Order of demonstrative and noun

Like numerals, the demonstrative always precedes the noun as in (139) and (140).

- (139) *i-ta*                      *irum*    *luintu*                      *alu-wa-nina*  
                  DEM- LOC                      one    stone                      red-NMLZ-DECL  
                  ‘This is a red stone’

- (140) *u-ta*                      *poja-nina*  
          DEM-LOC              boy-DECL  
          ‘That is (a) boy’

#### 5.9.5. The order of verb and adverbial

The adverbials always precede verbs as in the following examples.

- (141) *cene-pa*                      *ca-ro*  
          speed-ADVLZ              eat-IMP  
          ‘Eat fastly’
- (142) *suka-pa*                      *waŋ-ro*  
          slow-ADVLZ              come-IMP  
          ‘Come slowly’
- (143) *ka*      *ne*      *ha*      *-ro*  
          i      now      go      -ADVLZ  
          ‘I am going now’

#### 5.9.6. Order of Specifier and adjectival

The specifier always precedes the adjectival that they specify as it is demonstrated in the following examples.

- (144) *huce*    *zezeŋ-wa*      *poja*  
          SPEC    good-NMLZ    boy  
          ‘Very good boy’

(145) *huce dalai-wa sene*  
 very long -SPEC tree  
 ‘Very long tree’

(146) *diliŋ-wa luŋtui*  
 heavy -SPEC stone  
 ‘Very heavy stone’

### 5.9.7. The order of verb and Auxiliary

The auxiliary verb always follows the main verb as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do as discussed in the following examples.

(147) *kun ico iga ni-na*  
 my one book AUX-PST  
 ‘I had a book’

(148) *Kochbihar-ta ico zaipu ni-na*  
 Kochbihar-LOC one king AUX-PST  
 ‘There was a king in Kochbihar’

### 5.9.8. Order of verb and question marker

The question markers always follow the verb and the question particles occur at the end of the clauses or sentences as can be seen in the following examples.

(149) *nati əma cako-ga*  
 you rice eat-QM  
 ‘Will you eat rice?’



- (150) *aku*                      *ziŋ-daŋ-ga*  
           he                      sleep-PROG -QM  
           ‘Is he sleeping?’
- (151) *nati*      *bubuisi -hiŋ*                      *zezeŋ-ga*  
           you      butterfly -ACC                      like      -QM  
           ‘Do you like butterfly?’

#### 5.9.9. Order of noun, demonstrative and numerals

The demonstrative precedes the noun conversely numerals follow the nouns as can be seen in the following examples.

- (152) *i*                      *epu*      *haŋsa*  
           DEM                      one      duck  
           ‘This is a duck ’
- (153) *u*                      *dico*      *meme*  
           DEM                      four      girl  
           ‘That four girls’

#### 5.9.10. Order of noun plus adjectival and quantifiers

The adjectival and quantifier precede the noun as can be seen in the following.

- (154) *use*      *zezeŋ-wa*                      *meme-bi*  
           many      beauty-NMLZ                      girl      -PL  
           ‘Many beautiful girls’

(155) *isese tebo sa -bi*  
 few big house-PL  
 ‘Few big houses’

(156) *adi hanpo-wa poroi*  
 some white-NMLZ pigeon  
 ‘Some red pigeon’

#### 5.9.11. Order of noun and postposition

The postpositions in Toto follow the nouns as evident in the following examples.

(157) *iga tebul-ta toita nina*  
 book table-LOC above have  
 ‘The book is on the table’

(158) *me-ko abe-ta ma-ha-ro*  
 fire-GEN near-LOC NEG-go-FUT  
 ‘Do not go near fire!’

(159) *hati -ta cokapa wan-ko*  
 market -LOC upto come-IMP  
 ‘Come upto Market’

#### 5.9.12. Order of noun, numeral and adjectival

In Toto, the order of noun, numeral and adjectival is schematized in the following way [NOUN-NUMERAL-ADJECTIVAL]. In other words, the numeral and adjectival follow the noun and adjectival likewise follows the numerals as can be seen in the following examples.

(160) kuŋ-ko        ico    tebo    sa    ni-mi  
           i - GEN        one    big    house AUX-PRES  
           ‘I have a big house’

(161) *aku    nico    alu-wa        maibe doca-na*  
           she    two    red-NMLZ    flower get-PST  
           ‘She got two red flowers’.

### 5.9.13. Order of verb and imperative marker

The imperative markers follow the verb as evident in the following examples:

(162) *sukapa        waŋ-ko*  
           slow        come-IMP  
           ‘Come slowly!’

(163) *ye-ko*  
           speak-IMP  
           ‘Speak’

### 5.9.14. Order of infinitive and verb

The infinitive always follows the verb<sub>1</sub> and it always precedes the verb<sub>2</sub> as demonstrated in the following examples.

(164) Til    ama    ca-ko        eŋta-na  
           Til    rice    eat-INF        like-DECL  
           ‘Til like to eat rice’

- (165) *ka le -ko eŋta-na*  
i sing-INF like-DECL  
'I love to sing'

## **Chapter-6**

### **Conclusions**

The word Toto is derived from the Tibetan word *todbo* means ‘dweller of high attitude mountains’ later the word *todbo* becomes Toto. The Toto Language still have no script and the status of the language is endangered. According to the Linguists Toto has close affinity with the Newar, Mogar and Gurung and Lepcha to some extent. Hence, Toto was placed under the Tibeto-Burman language Family of Non-Pronominalised Group. The present study also reveals the same.

Toto people are multilinguals they speak Bengali, Hindi, Nepali and other market languages also to some extent. Toto people encourage their children to speak their mother tongue in their home. The Toto people have positive attitude towards their mother tongue. Totos are considered as a minor group and their Language is Endangered among the Languages spoken in the North Eastern region.

A few Anthropological works on Toto people are found like the study of their physical and material culture, Folk literature, religion and so on. However Linguistic work is found very scanty. Which is mentioned in the Introduction chapter as well as in the Review of literature also.

The present work on Grammar of Toto is an earnest attempt to bring out the unique features of Phonological, Morphological and Syntactical aspects also to some extent. As per the study the Toto Language agrees most of the features of the Tibeto Burman Languages.

On the basis of the structural description of Toto, the following conclusions can be drawn.

- (i) Toto exhibits the basic six-vowel system found in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages and their dialects. The six-vowels in the language are /i, e, ə, a, o and u/.
- (ii) All the vowels in the language are voiced and oral. It is also noticed that vowel length is not phonemic in the language.
- (iii) All the vowels can occur in all the position of a word i.e., initially, medially and finally.
- (iv) There are nine diphthongs in Toto: /iu/ /ei/, /eu/, /əi/, /ai/, /au/, /oi/, /ou/ and /ui/. Diphthong /ui/ occurs in all positions, /iu/ and /eu/ occur initial and medial positions, /ai/, /oi/, /əi/, and /ei/ occur medial and final positions while /ou/ and /au/ occur only in the medial positions of word.
- (v) Like the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto is a tone language in which a change in the pitch of the syllable corresponds to a change in its meaning. The number of contrasting tones in Toto is two i.e., Toto has two contrastive lexical tones: high and low.
- (vi) There are eighteen consonantal phonemes in Toto: /p, b, t, d, c, ɟ, k, g, m, n, ŋ, s, z, h, r, l, w and y/. All the eighteen consonantal phonemes cannot occur in all three positions.
- (vii) Toto has ten stops consisting of unaspirated voiceless /p, t, k/, aspirated voiceless stops /p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>/ and unaspirated voiced /b, d/ which lack their aspirated counterpart /b<sup>h</sup>/ and /d<sup>h</sup>/.
- (viii) Interesting feature in the language is the non-occurrence of trill phoneme /r/ in the word final position is also noticed.

(ix) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, aspiration is phonemic in the language and the voicing is also one of distinctive features in the case of consonantal phonemes in Toto.

(x) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, no consonant clusters are found syllable finally.

(xi) Noun in Toto may be defined as a class of words that can be affixed by morphemes for number *-bi ~biya*, determiner *-i & -u* gender *-meme* ‘female’ and *-poja* ‘male’ and case suffixes *-hiŋ, -ko, -se, -ta*, etc..

(xii) Unlike other Tibeto-Burman Languages namely Bodo, Rabha, Garo number is not grammaticalised in Toto i.e., subject-verb agreement is absent as far as number is concerned.

(xiii) In Toto, there is no grammatical gender. The gender distinction in Toto is natural i.e., all the male comes under the masculine and all the female comes under the feminine. All inanimate things fall under the neuter gender.

(xiv) There are no gender distinctions of any kind in Toto pronouns however the singular-non-singular distinctions are found in pronouns in Toto.

(xv) Numeral system in Toto is of decimal type. Vigesimal system is also noticed in the numeral system of the language. Majority of the numeral roots in the language are mono-morphemic. Bi-morphemic numerals in the language are numeral root plus suffixes for instance, *i-co* ‘one’, *ŋa-co* ‘five’, *tu-co* ‘six’ etc.

(xvi) As many other Tibeto-Burman languages, case relations in Toto are expressed by means of postpositions. Case relation in Toto is expressed by postposing the case markers to the nouns or pronouns.

(xvii) Toto has a minimal number of simple or underived adjectives which do not show any morphological distinction for attributively and predicatively use. Most of the adjectives are derived from the stative verbs by adding derivational suffix *-ma*. It is one the common phenomena to form adjectives in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia (Benedict 1972, Matisoff, 2003)

(xviii) Verbs in Toto can be defined as roots which can take morphemes for aspect, mood, causative, negative and so on. Verbs are not marked for number and gender in Toto.

(xix) Verbs in Toto are inflected for tense, aspect and mood and other verbal affixes as well. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, auxiliaries in Toto follow the main verb. Morphosyntactically, Toto tense can be categorized into: (i) present (ii) past and (iii) future. The present tense in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-mi* which is attached to the verb root. Morphosyntactically, the past tense is expressed by the suffix *-na* and future tense is marked by the suffix *-ro*, There are three aspectual distinctions in Toto language, viz., (i) perfective (ii) progressive (iii) habitual. The adverbs always precede the verbs they modify. Derived adverbs in Toto are derived from nouns or verbs by adding adverbial markers *-pa* to the same. Therefore, the derivation of adverbs from noun or verbs is one of the typological features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Toto. The imperative mood is expressed by the suffix *-ko*, the obligative is expressed by morpheme *nero*, capability is *curo*, the conditional mood is by a suffix *-ado*. The Optional mood in Toto is expressed by the morpheme *mokna*.

(xx) In Toto, noun phrase consists of the head noun which is usually followed by one or more modifiers. Generally modifiers may be nominal, numeral, or a quantifier.



(xxi) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has four major word formation processes viz., (i) affixation (ii) compounding (iii) reduplication and (iv) borrowing.

(xxii) The basic order of the words in unmarked sentences in Toto is Subject, object, Verb (SOV).

(xxiii) A noun phrase in Toto may consist minimally of the noun (or noun substitute, such as a pronoun) and the other words (modifiers) or affixes can be added.

(xxiv) In Toto, verb phrase must have a verb, whereas NPs or adverbs are optionally present in the phrase.

(xxv) Like many other languages in the world, Toto makes use of nominalizing morpheme *-wa* for the derivation of nouns from verbs.

(xxvi) Typologically, Toto has morphological causative. *-pa*, causativization in Toto is formed predominantly by adding a causative suffix *-pa* to the verb stem. Negation in Toto is mainly expressed by means of particles: *ma-* and *uhu*. In Toto, the negator *ma-* is employed to negate both the declarative and interrogative clauses. The nominalised clause is negated by the general negator *moko*.

(xxvii) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has no overt relative pronoun to form relative clause as in Indo-European languages like English, French, Sanskrit, Hindi etc. So relativization in Toto is made by prefixing the nominalizer *-wa* to the verb of the nominalized clause.

(xxviii) The yes-no question in Toto is formed by adding the question marker *-ga* to the verb.

(xxix) In Toto, the question words: *hasu* ‘who’ *hanga* ‘what’ etc are used to form the wh-question along with the question particle *-ga*.

(xxx) Declarative clauses in Toto are usually the normal, unmarked clause type. Structurally declarative clause can be categorized into two types: (i) verbal predicate and (ii) non-verbal predicate. The verbal predicate in Toto is formed by the verb i.e., the verb is the predicator of the verbal predicate. Non-verbal predicate is formed with either auxiliary *ni*.

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## APPENDIX-I

### **Toto Folk Tale**

#### *Hispa so poduiwa yagoiko meŋsi* The Story of Hispa and Poduiwa Mountains

*totoparata nico yagoi nina.hispa so poduiwa.abiya kuku so da.kuku so da ko hatrongre eŋtapa mazaŋ sumi he epa ziŋwa diha tre nina he i nico yāgoita nimi.i ico yāgoi haŋsu udaŋ tamsa sacuŋ mehe.pudui yāgoi ha ditā nina hispa ha daŋta nimi he.*

There are two mountains in Totapara viz. Hispa and Poduiwa Mountains. The Poduiwa Mountain is the maternal Uncle of Hispa and Hispa is nephew. Their relation was not at all good. According to their belief the same enmity can also be witnessed in human civilization. The main reason of their turmoil was ‘height’ who is higher than whom? Poduiwa was situated towards West and Hispa mountain was towards north-east.

*uise diŋ sokoipa hispa so podui ha taibi lərai gasu nimi.hispa ha tuŋsiŋta meŋtawa nomsa enā he.i nowa ta poduiwa mi outana ha oidanwa ta haŋsure yuŋkoiro.hispa ko noŋhimsa pudui yagoi yaŋta puna he.aku haŋ zokome megena he.*

After a long period of their turmoil, The Hispa Mountain has decided to sit for mutual understanding. Hispa Mountain was playing conspiracy against his uncle, Poduiwa internally. Hispa was looking for a chance of slaughtering the head of Paduiwa so that nobody can question against the height of Hispa Mountain and he would remain one and only in the region.

*oise loko noita dako tuŋsiŋ eŋtapa hiŋna tamsa poduiwa nona he.kuku so da lisuŋ dateŋti zoroko abita pokori daisu nehe.senepa keka opumsa pokori daiwa metina he.abi nico ta nāpoisme he saiyu lisuŋta pokori daineko epa ziŋna ha moŋto ko liso ti ŋoko he naŋaitraŋ muce na he.*

On the other hand Paduiwa was delighted on the proposal of his nephew, Hispa. Poduiwa was not aware of the plot against him. Poduiwa Mountain thought after a long period of time Hispa came on good track. Both the Mountains beted to dig a pond in one night. They went to dig the pond soon after dawn cock cocked and they left the work incomplete.

*epraŋ saiyu ha ladu montota duŋsi gaŋko toita pokori daina he.ita suna he.hapa tuna lisuŋ traŋ daiko nahe.pokorita yoinipa ti mepuna he.podui ha pokorita lita nedaŋna he atron hispaha patanso poduiwako porote tepuna he.hispa poduiwako netoŋ tepu do.poduiwako misi nehe.aku ha misiwa he.*

In the next day they changed the place and reched to Dhumsi Village and started to dig the pond . This time they could complete digging and created pond. The ponds were filled with blue water immediately. The Poduiwa Mountain was looking at pond water very surprisingly In the mean time Hispa attacked and slaughter the head of Poduiwa Mountain

*ako tuŋsiŋko pyako so nico mico ŋopuna he.totobiko poro maŋnaha ipu keka i zisaŋhi huine mehe.nedo totobiko loita hispa so poduiwako pokoriya eŋta koimi tiŋmi.ako noiso hispa yagoi ko udaŋwa haŋsure zaŋkoina.*

It is said father that Poduiwa Mountain was not died when its head was slaughter by Hispa because he was immortal. It is further said that two eye were created from its heart when head was slaughtered. Then after, whenever the Toto community people feel headache they scarify one red foul. Now it is believed by the Totos that the pond which was created by them was really picturesque. After this event no question was raised on the height of Hsipa Mountain.

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APPENDIX-II  
Riddles

i) *sintɛŋ -ko toita cabe cabe -ko toita sintɛŋ*

fruit is on the tree, tree is on the fruit

Ans- *anəros* 'Pine apple'.

ii) *sa -ko napota deŋa nina lapun matana*

house-GEN. inside man yes door no

There is a man inside the house but no door

Ans- *kame* 'grave yard'.

iii) *deŋa-ko kui nina jeko mucuna*

man-GEN. hand yes think can't

There is human wit but cannot think

Ans- *mepuna* 'weak'.

iv) *lebe nina jeko macuna*

Tongue yes speak can't

There is tongue but cannot speak

Ans- *leŋba* 'dumb'

v) *mico nimi nata matiḡna*

Eye have road can't see

There is eye but cannot see

Ans- *micomitiḡwa* 'Blind'.

vi) *deḡa nina ḡeko macuna*

Man yes speak not say

There is a person sleeping but will never get up

Ans- *sipuwa* 'Dead body'.

### APPENDIX-III

#### **Toto Vocabularies**

The following Toto Vocabularies represent the basic vocables of Toto that are arranged phonemically as per the number of phonemes in the language. A category label, from the following set, is provided along with each entry.

/i/	/i/	(noun)	‘this’
	/ibiga/	(noun)	‘their’
	/ipo/	(noun)	‘half’
	/ita/	(pronoun)	‘here’
	/iticu/	(adjective)	‘small’
	/iko/	(noun)	‘one’(leg)
	/ina/	(verb)	‘folling’
	/iniŋ/	(noun)	‘year’
	/isese/	(noun)	‘little’
/e/	/e/	(noun)	‘younger brother’
	/epu/	(noun)	‘one’(animal)
	/eŋda/	(verb)	‘step’
	/epraŋ/	(noun)	‘don’t worry’
	/ebreŋ/	(noun)	‘one ruti’
	/ena/	(verb)	‘kept’
	/eŋ/	(noun)	‘ginger’
	/eŋa/	(noun)	‘horse’
	/eŋtapa/	(adjective)	‘good’

	/eroŋme/	(noun)	‘wife’s younger sister’
/a/	/apa/	(noun)	‘father’
	/abita/	(adjective)	‘nearest’
	/ata/	(noun)	‘grand father’
	/aku/	(pronoun)	‘he/she’
	/ate/	(noun)	‘uncle’s wife’
	/aŋa/	(noun)	‘grand mother’
	/ama/	(noun)	‘rice’
	/ana/	(noun)	‘elder sister’
	/aŋi/	(noun)	‘yesterday’
	/aŋ/	(verb)	‘drink’
/ə/	/əŋpuna/	(verb)	‘burn’
	/əŋti/	(noun)	‘ring’
	/əŋku/	(noun)	‘uncook rice’
	/əŋwa/	(verb)	‘boil’
	/əŋna/	(verb)	‘drink’
	/əŋsu/	(noun)	‘festival’
	/ənoŋ/	(noun)	‘handle of plough’
	/ədeŋ/	(noun)	‘stock’
/u/	/ut/	(noun)	‘camel’
	/utiŋ/	(noun)	‘bamboo pillar’



	/uta/	(noun)	‘there’
	/udan/	(adjective)	‘far away’
	/udan̄ti/	(adjective)	‘deep’
	/udanwa/	(noun)	‘down place’
	/ukil/	(noun)	‘advocate’
	/una/	(verb)	‘sleepy’
	/use/	(adjective)	‘many’
	/uwa/	(verb)	‘singer’
/o/	/o/	(noun)	‘yes’
	/odaŋcuwa/	(adjective)	‘short’
	/odaŋpa keka/	(noun)	‘cock’
	/oŋti/	(noun)	‘seed’
	/oŋwa/	(verb)	‘boilling’
	/oraŋpa	/(noun)	‘old man’
	/oraŋme/	(noun)	‘old woman’
	/ozoiwa/	(noun)	‘dress of worship’
	/owa/	(verb)	‘cock crow’
/p/	/pika/	(noun)	‘cow’
	/piso/	(noun)	‘anul’
	/peituŋ/	(noun)	‘basket’
	/pema/	(noun)	‘belly’
	/peta/	(noun)	‘insect’

	/pa/	(verb)	‘carry on’
	/paito/	(noun)	‘a kind of small frog’
	/paka/	(noun)	‘pig’
	/puima/	(noun)	‘star’
	/purin/	(noun)	‘hair’
/b/	/bizuwa/	(noun)	‘priest’
	/bekon/	(noun)	‘skin’
	/begren/	(noun)	‘bone’
	/bercen/	(noun)	‘calf’
	/baiwa/	(verb)	‘crossing river’
	/bara/	(noun)	‘wall’
	/baro/	(noun)	‘friend’
	/botra/	(noun)	‘bottle’
	/bowa/	(adjective)	‘hit’
	/bubuisi/	(noun)	‘butterfly’
/t/	/tima/	(noun)	‘leech’
	/tiyan/	(noun)	‘face’
	/tetrise/	(noun)	‘tamarind’
	/teizinwa/	(adjective)	‘hot’
	/tanpuwa/	(adjective)	‘hard’
	/tatawa/	(verb)	‘to throw’
	/tanjku/	(noun)	‘tobacco’

	/topro/	(noun)	‘cape’
	/toita/	(adjective)	‘tall’
	/tuŋsiŋ/	(noun)	‘heart’
/d/	/dipa/	(verb)	‘cut’
	/diŋba/	(noun)	‘sky’
	/deŋa/	(noun)	‘man’
	/data/	(noun)	‘west’
	/daŋ/	(verb)	‘horn’
	/daŋtiŋ/	(noun)	‘jackfruit tree’
	/daŋkreŋ/	(noun)	‘right hand’
	/dase/	(noun)	‘jackfruit’
	/dupe/	(noun)	‘ask’
	/dupa/	(verb)	‘wash’
/k/	/keka/	(noun)	‘hen’
	/kewa/	(noun)	‘birth’
	/ka/	(pronoun)	‘I’
	/kabi/	(pronoun)	‘we’
	/kamzoro/	(verb)	‘doing’
	/kawa/	(adjective)	‘beeter’
	/kobreŋ/	(adjective)	‘brade’
	/kole/	(verb)	‘open’
	/kui/	(noun)	‘hand’

	/kuŋ/	(pronoun)	‘my’
/g/	/ga/	(verb)	‘sit’
	/gapani/	(noun)	‘cover’
	/gari/	(noun)	‘bullock car’
	/gewa/	(adjective)	‘brilliant’
	/gera/	(noun)	‘parrot’
	/gibe/	(noun)	‘deer’
	/gina/	(verb)	‘wait’
	/go/	(noun)	‘son in-law’
	/goi/	(noun)	‘arece-nut’
	/guya/	(noun)	‘owl’
/c/	/ciŋteŋ /	(noun)	‘tree’
	/ciŋsai/	(noun)	‘bamboo shoot’
	/ceŋ/	(noun)	‘child’
	/cereŋ/	(noun)	‘basket’
	/ca/	(verb)	‘eat’
	/cabi/	(noun)	‘key’
	/casiŋ/	(noun)	‘tea’
	/cawa/	(noun)	‘cut’
	/coise/	(noun)	‘lemon’
	/curai/	(noun)	‘lime’

/m/	/migei/	(noun)	‘leep’
	/miŋ/	(noun)	‘name’
	/mico/	(noun)	‘eye’
	/me/	(noun)	‘fire’
	/membuiwa/	(noun)	‘dream’
	/meŋsai/	(noun)	‘garlic’
	/maibe/	(noun)	‘flower’
	/makura/	(noun)	‘spider’
	/moəŋ/	(noun)	‘paddy’
	/mou/	(verb)	‘call’
/n/	/ni/	(noun)	‘salt’
	/nico/	(noun)	‘two’
	/nikai/	(noun)	‘fourty’
	/nabe/	(noun)	‘nose’
	/namu/	(noun)	‘mouth’
	/nanuŋ/	(noun)	‘ear’
	/naya/	(noun)	‘fish’
	/noka/	(noun)	‘monkey’
	/nuita/	(noun)	‘backside’
	/nunu/	(noun)	‘behind’
/ŋ/	/ŋakai/	(noun)	‘one hundred’
	/ŋoka/	(noun)	‘monkey’

	/ŋoisəŋ/	(noun)	‘earth worm’
/s/	/sika/	(noun)	‘jungle hen’
	/sinŋen/	(noun)	‘tree’
	/sebe/	(noun)	‘seed’
	/setəŋ/	(noun)	‘teeth’
	/sa/	(noun)	‘house’
	/sama/	(noun)	‘jungle’
	/sani/	(noun)	‘sun’
	/soyentra/	(noun)	‘orange’
	/suti/	(noun)	‘oil’
/z/	/zi/	(noun)	‘small tiger’
	/ziŋ/	(noun)	‘sleep’
	/ziya/	(noun)	‘bird’
	/zezeŋkewa/	(adjective)	‘good’
	/zere/	(noun)	‘net’
	/zeron/	(noun)	‘afternoon’
	/za/	(verb)	‘standup’
	/zo/	(verb)	‘do’
	/zuija/	(noun)	‘rat’
	/zuwa/	(verb)	‘learning’

/h/	/hini/	(noun)	‘today’
	/hiŋ/	(verb)	‘listen’
	/hebkoŋ/	(noun)	‘morning’
	/heŋpra/	(noun)	‘backbone’
	/hapu/	(verb)	‘go’
	/hapuna/	(verb)	‘gone’
	/haprai/	(noun)	‘jungle betel’
	/haŋga/	(noun)	‘what’
	/hotroŋ/	(noun)	‘when’
	/husawa/	(verb)	‘fell down’

/l/	/lisoŋ/	(noun)	‘night’
	/lita/	(pronoun)	‘down’
	/lebe/	(noun)	‘tonque’
	/lei/	(verb)	‘come’
	/la/	(verb)	‘write’
	/lapa/	(noun)	‘leaf’
	/laka/	(noun)	‘rhino’
	/luintu/	(noun/	‘stone’
	/luka/	(noun)	‘ship’

/r/	/roma/	(adjective)	‘then’
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/w/	/wa/	(noun)	‘husband’
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	/wati/	(noun)	‘rain’
	/wanɲpana/	(verb)	‘will come’
	/wanɲta/	(noun)	‘rice mill’
	/wanɲdaɲna/	(verb)	‘coming’
	/wanɲwa/	(verb)	‘came’
	/wana/	(verb)	‘bark’(dog bark)
	/waca/	(verb)	‘to keep’
	/wara/	(noun)	‘a kind of small bee’
	/wawa/	(verb)	‘pickup’
/y/	/yiu/	(noun)	‘rice bear’
	/yabri/	(noun)	‘curry’
	/yagoi/	(noun)	‘mountain’
	/yawa/	(verb)	‘dance’
	/yanɲtawa/	(verb)	‘enjoy’
	/ yonɲbe/	(noun)	‘antestine’
	/yonɲko/	(noun)	‘our’
	/yonɲsoba/	(adjective)	‘soft’
	/yunpi/	(noun)	‘banana’
	/yuti/	(noun)	‘milk’





# **A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF TOTO**

**A thesis submitted to Assam University, Silchar  
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics**

*By*

**CHIBIRAM BASUMATARY  
Ph.D. Registration No. Ph.D/1912/2012  
Dated.24.09.2012**



**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS  
RABINDRANATH TAGORE SCHOOL OF INDIAN LANGUAGES  
AND CULTURAL STUDIES**

**ASSAM UNIVERSITY  
SILCHAR - 788 011, INDIA  
2016**

## **Chapter-6**

### **Conclusions**

The word Toto is derived from the Tibetan word *todbo* means ‘dweller of high attitude mountains’ later the word *todbo* becomes *Toto*. The *Toto* Language still have no script and the status of the language is endangered. According to the Linguists *Toto* has close affinity with the *Newar*, *Mogar* and *Gurung* and *lepcha* to some extent. Hence, *Toto* was placed under the *Tibeto-Burman* language Family of *Non-Pronomilinelised* Group. The present study also reveals the same.

*Toto* people are multilinguals they speak *Bengali*, *Hindi*, *Nepali* and other market languages also to some extent. *Toto* people encourage their children to speak their mother tongue in their home. The *Toto* people have positive attitude towards their mother tongue. *Totos* are considered as a minor group and their Language is Endangered among the Languages spoken in the North Eastern region.

A few Anthropological works on *Toto* people are found like the study of their physical and material culture, Folk literature, religion and so on. However Linguistic work is found very Scanty. Which is mentioned in the Inthroduction chapter as well as in the Review of literature also.

The present work on Grammar of *Toto* is an earnest attempt to bring out the unique features of Phonological, Morphological and Syntactical aspects also to some extent. As per the study the *Toto* Language agrees most of the features of the *Tibeto Burman* Languages.

On the basis of the structural description of *Toto*, the following conclusions can be drawn.

- (i) Toto exhibits the basic six-vowel system found in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages and their dialects. The six-vowels in the language are /i, e, ə, a, o and u/.
- (ii) All the vowels in the language are voiced and oral. It is also noticed that vowel length is not phonemic in the language.
- (iii) All the vowels can occur in all the position of a word i.e., initially, medially and finally.
- (iv) There are nine diphthongs in Toto: /iu/ /ei/, /eu/, /əi/, /ai/, /au/, /oi/, /ou/ and /ui/. Diphthong /ui/ occurs in all positions, /iu/ and /eu/ occur initial and medial positions, /ai/, /oi/, /əi/, and /ei/ occur medial and final positions while /ou/ and /au/ occur only in the medial positions of word.
- (v) Like the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto is a tone language in which a change in the pitch of the syllable corresponds to a change in its meaning. The number of contrasting tones in Toto is two i.e., Toto has two contrastive lexical tones: high and low.
- (vi) There are eighteen consonantal phonemes in Toto: /p, b, t, d, c, ɟ, k, g, m, n, ŋ, s, z, h, r, l, w and y/. All the eighteen consonantal phonemes cannot occur in all three positions.
- (vii) Toto has ten stops consisting of unaspirated voiceless /p, t, k/, aspirated voiceless stops /p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>/ and unaspirated voiced /b, d/ which lack their aspirated counterpart /b<sup>h</sup>/ and /d<sup>h</sup>/.
- (viii) Interesting feature in the language is the non-occurrence of trill phoneme /r/ in the word final position is also noticed.

(ix) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, aspiration is phonemic in the language and the voicing is also one of distinctive features in the case of consonantal phonemes in Toto.

(x) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, no consonant clusters are found syllable finally.

(xi) Noun in Toto may be defined as a class of words that can be affixed by morphemes for number *-bi ~biya*, determiner *-i & -u* gender *-meme* ‘female’ and *-poja* ‘male’ and case suffixes *-hiŋ, -ko, -se, -ta*, etc..

(xii) Unlike other Tibeto-Burman Languages namely Bodo, Rabha, Garo number is not grammaticalised in Toto i.e., subject-verb agreement is absent as far as number is concerned.

(xiii) In Toto, there is no grammatical gender. The gender distinction in Toto is natural i.e., all the male comes under the masculine and all the female comes under the feminine. All inanimate things fall under the neuter gender.

(xiv) There are no gender distinctions of any kind in Toto pronouns however the singular-non-singular distinctions are found in pronouns in Toto.

(xv) Numeral system in Toto is of decimal type. Vigesimal system is also noticed in the numeral system of the language. Majority of the numeral roots in the language are mono-morphemic. Bi-morphemic numerals in the language are numeral root plus suffixes for instance, *i-co* ‘one’, *ŋa-co* ‘five’, *tu-co* ‘six’ etc.

(xvi) As many other Tibeto-Burman languages, case relations in Toto are expressed by means of postpositions. Case relation in Toto is expressed by postposing the case markers to the nouns or pronouns.

(xvii) Toto has a minimal number of simple or underived adjectives which do not show any morphological distinction for attributively and predicatively use. Most of the adjectives are derived from the stative verbs by adding derivational suffix *-ma*. It is one the common phenomena to form adjectives in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Southeast Asia (Benedict 1972, Matisoff, 2003)

(xviii) Verbs in Toto can be defined as roots which can take morphemes for aspect, mood, causative, negative and so on. Verbs are not marked for number and gender in Toto.

(xix) Verbs in Toto are inflected for tense, aspect and mood and other verbal affixes as well. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, auxiliaries in Toto follow the main verb. Morphosyntactically, Toto tense can be categorized into: (i) present (ii) past and (iii) future. The present tense in Toto is expressed by the suffix *-mi* which is attached to the verb root. Morphosyntactically, the past tense is expressed by the suffix *-na* and future tense is marked by the suffix *-ro*, There are three aspectual distinctions in Toto language, viz., (i) perfective (ii) progressive (iii) habitual. The adverbs always precede the verbs they modify. Derived adverbs in Toto are derived from nouns or verbs by adding adverbial markers *-pa* to the same. Therefore, the derivation of adverbs from noun or verbs is one of the typological features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Toto. The imperative mood is expressed by the suffix *-ko*, the obligative is expressed by morpheme *nero*, capability is *curo*, the conditional mood is by a suffix *-ado*. The Optional mood in Toto is expressed by the morpheme *mokna*.

(xx) In Toto, noun phrase consists of the head noun which is usually followed by one or more modifiers. Generally modifiers may be nominal, numeral, or a quantifier.

(xxi) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has four major word formation processes viz., (i) affixation (ii) compounding (iii) reduplication and (iv) borrowing.

(xxii) The basic order of the words in unmarked sentences in Toto is Subject, object, Verb (SOV).

(xxiii) A noun phrase in Toto may consist minimally of the noun (or noun substitute, such as a pronoun) and the other words (modifiers) or affixes can be added.

(xxiv) In Toto, verb phrase must have a verb, whereas NPs or adverbs are optionally present in the phrase.

(xxv) Like many other languages in the world, Toto makes use of nominalizing morpheme *-wa* for the derivation of nouns from verbs.

(xxvi) Typologically, Toto has morphological causative. *-pa*, causativization in Toto is formed predominantly by adding a causative suffix *-pa* to the verb stem. Negation in Toto is mainly expressed by means of particles: *ma-* and *uhu*. In Toto, the negator *ma-* is employed to negate both the declarative and interrogative clauses. The nominalised clause is negated by the general negator *moko*.

(xxvii) Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Toto has no overt relative pronoun to form relative clause as in Indo-European languages like English, French, Sanskrit, Hindi etc. So relativization in Toto is made by prefixing the nominalizer *-wa* to the verb of the nominalized clause.

(xxviii) The yes-no question in Toto is formed by adding the question marker *-ga* to the verb.

(xxix) In Toto, the question words: *hasu* ‘who’ *hanga* ‘what’ etc are used to form the wh-question along with the question particle *-ga*.

(xxx) Declarative clauses in Toto are usually the normal, unmarked clause type. Structurally declarative clause can be categorized into two types: (i) verbal predicate and (ii) non-verbal predicate. The verbal predicate in Toto is formed by the verb i.e., the verb is the predicator of the verbal predicate. Non-verbal predicate is formed with either auxiliary *ni*.